

The
Development of : :
: Democracy in India.



:: BY ::

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VAKIL, GUNTUR.

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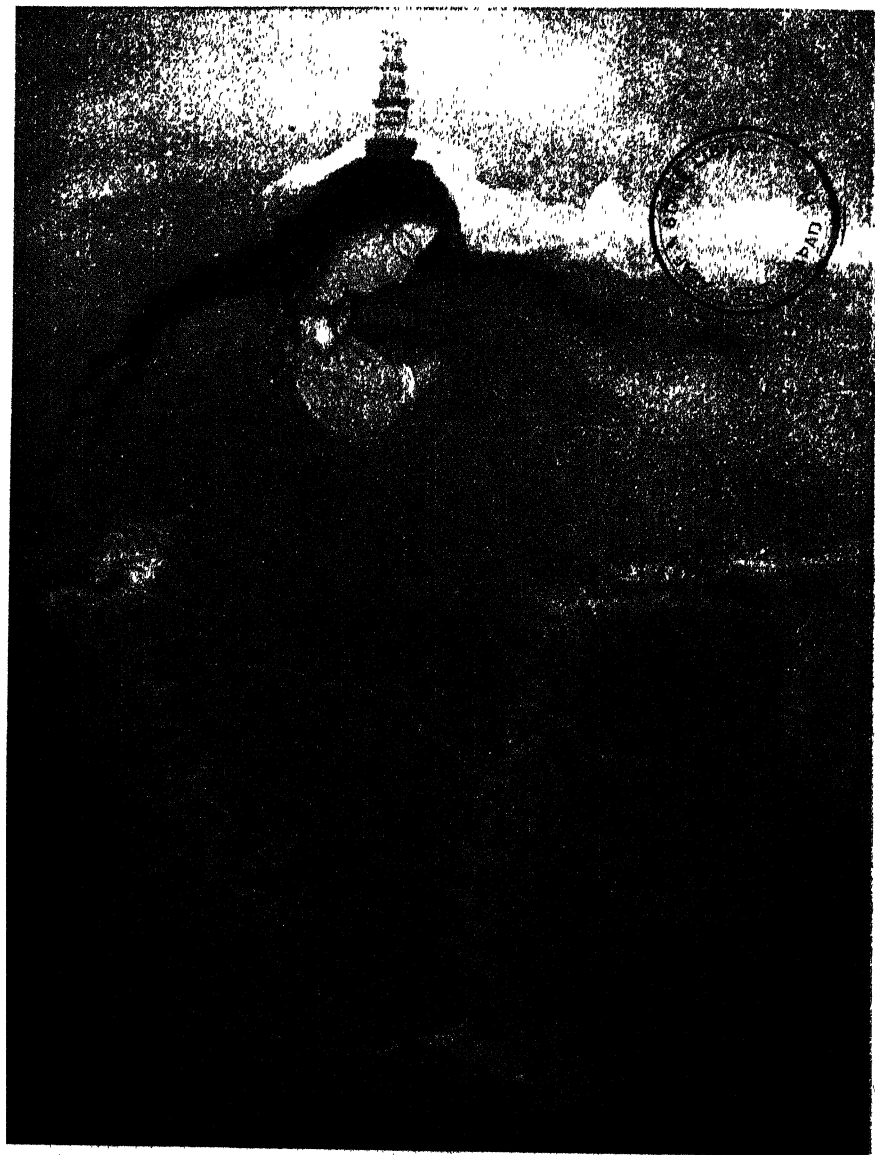
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Bharata-Mata—Artist. Srijut Sarad Charan.

In her hand at Guzerat she holds a conch signifying the prosperity of Guzerat. In her neck she has a lotus flower signifying the cultural greatness of India. In her other hand she holds Kutbminar, the finest minaret in Delhi, the capital of India, signifying that political authority radiates from Delhi. Looking at the picture closely you observe the significance of the picture towards the subject dealt with in this book. This picture is found in *Madhuri* of January, 1924, a Hindi Magazine of Lucknow, Oudh.



वन्दे मातरम् राग बंगीय काफी-तालः दीपचंदो.

वन्दे मातरम् .

सुजलाम् सुफलाम् मलयजशीतलाम् । सस्यश्यामलाम् मातरम् ।
शुभ्रज्योत्स्ना पुलकित यामिनीम् । फुल्ल कुसुमित-दृमदल शोभिनीम् ।
सुहासिनीम् सुमधुरभाषिणीम् । सुखदाम् वरदाम् मातरम् ।
त्रिंशकोटि कंठ-कलकल निनाद-कराले । द्वित्रिंशकोटि भुजैर्धृत खर करवाले
के बोले मा तुमि अबले

बहुबलधारिणीम्, नमामि तारिणीम्, । रिपुदलवारिणीम् मातरम् ।
तुमि विद्या, तुमि धर्म, तुमि हृदि, तुमि मर्म, त्वं हि प्राणाः शरीरे ।
बाहुते तुमि मा शक्ति, हृदये तुमि मा भक्ति,
तोमारई प्रतिमा मडी मन्दिर मन्दिरे ।

त्वं हि दुर्गा दशापहरण धारिणी कमला कमलदलविहारिणी ।

वाणी विद्यादायिनी नमामि त्वाम् वन्दे मातरम् ।

नमामि कमलाम्, अमलाम्, अतुलाम् सुजलाम् सुफलाम् मातरम्
श्यामलाम् सरलाम् सुरभिताम् भूषिताम् धरणीम् भरणीम् मातरम्
वन्दे मातरम् । — ऋषिबंकि

राग भूपाली-तीन ताल

अयि भुवनमनमोहिनि ! निर्मल सूर्यकरोज्ज्वल धारिणि !

जनक-जननी-जननी !

नील-सिन्धु-जल-धौत चरणतल, अनिल-विकम्पित श्यामल अंचल,
अंबर-चुम्बित भाल हिमाचल, शुभ्र-तुषार-किरीटिनी !

प्रथम प्रभात उदित तव गगने, प्रथम सामरव तव तपोवने,

प्रथम प्रचारित तव वनभवने, ज्ञानधर्म कत काव्यकाहिनी !

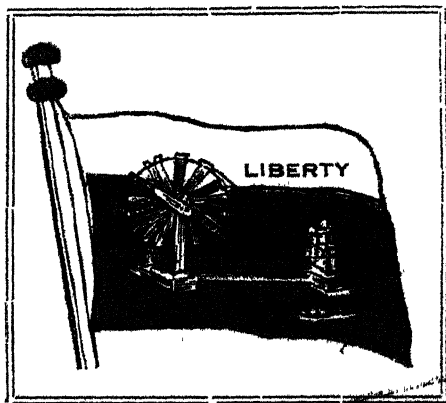
चिरकल्याणमयी तुमि धन्य, देश विदेशे वितरिञ्च अन्न,

जाह्नवि जमुना विगलित करुणा पुण्यपीयूष-स्तन्यवाहिनी !

कवींद्रवींद्र.

Dedicated

TO



ALL

Lovers of Liberty

Advocates of Equality

Believers in Divinity

of Man.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

Thought precedes action. Action, in its multifarious aspects is progress. The progress of every country depends upon the thoughts, aspirations, ideals and lines of action of its people. In every country the Utopian thinker does the spade-work before the man of action (Karmayogin) actually steps into the field. The constitutions of Europe were first carved out on the mental plane in the writings of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Montesque, Moore, Max, Mazzini, Tolstoi, etc. Their ideas had accelerated the growth of European constitutions though they did not actually shape them. In India there are very few writers on Indian constitutional History from a truly nationalistic point of view. In publishing this book I think I will be one of those who set in motion the still waters of Indian political thought. Let everybody in India think of what the future of his race will be, what the mission of India is among the nations of the world, and what the purpose for which an Indian lives.

Owing to stress of professional work I had not had the opportunity of going through the proof sheets and I had to leave everything entirely into the hands of the manager, Andhra Grandhalaya Press, Ltd., Bezwada, to whom I am grateful for printing the book in as short a time as possible. I wish that many of you who read this book may make suggestions if necessary either in the treatment of the subject or of additional information that may be required and I will try my best to have the necessary alterations made in the next edition. The constitutional changes that have taken place during the British regime have not been elaborately dealt with in this book as there are already in the field some books treating that portion of

the subject. If the public give us their support by using this book very largely in Schools, Colleges and Universities, I hope I will be encouraged to publish a second volume treating in detail the recent constitutional changes. There may be differences of opinion among the various political leaders on some points and yet the subject can be considered from various stand-points. It is only in the free expression of our opinions and an open and fair discussion of matters on which we differ that we can create a healthy atmosphere of progress, and harmony can be created between the rulers and the ruled. So I hope that the public will co-operate with me in making my endeavour a success.

G. V. B.



FOREWORD.

The East is in the pain and travail of the birth of a great Democracy within the geographical confines of India. The great souls eagerly waiting to witness the birth of this darling are confronted with innumerable problems, religious, political, economical and sociological. To present a graphic view of these problems in clear and unmistakable terms is the object of this little look. Unless every aspirant for democracy studies them carefully and tackles them with the dexterity of an astute politician, he will not be able to meet the situation that is preparing itself in the whole world and particularly in India. Changes in the world are of two kinds. They may either be evolutionary or revolutionary. In the one case people perceive the great forces that accumulate underneath their feet and try to control them, while in the other they sleep away until all the forces accumulate and all on a sudden they burst out in a volcanic eruption, causing havoc in human society. Such were the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. People were held in terror by some factions, the Jacobins and the Bolsheviks, and society was made to yield to their wishes. Students of history are well aware of the horrors of those days and how the guillotine and the scaffold worked for the destruction of man, how human blood flowed in torrents both in France and Russia, how France and Russia suffered for a long time from the evil effects of such sudden and abnormal changes, how people became a prey to famine, pestilence, and epidemics, how starvation stared them in the face, how Death carried away the miserable inhabitants of those lands and how their life, liberty and property were in jeopardy every moment. To avert such a calamity in India every one must be well equipped with sufficient knowledge and

information to handle the situation dexterously and lead the country on evolutionary lines of progress.

There was a time in the history of the world when priestly domination was the paramount feature of every polity. The church wanted to control every human action and thus bring the whole world under its suzerainty. The notorious example in Christendom of one who possessed that unbounded ambition is Hildibrand, the glorious little man who adorned the papal throne as Gregory VII. He proclaimed that the church had been founded by God and was entrusted with the task of embracing all mankind in a single society in which His will was the only law and that in her capacity as a divine institution she out-topped all human structures and that the pope as head of the church was the viceregent of God on earth so that disobedience to him implied disobedience to God. Similar was the conception of the vassals of the pope. The middle ages of Europe were the darkest period of her history. The whole of Europe was labouring under priestly rule and the corruptions of the church held the people down so that they could not lift their heads up. The whole of Europe combined could not withstand the onslaught of the Turks in the Crusades. But Martin Luther and Erasmus gave a new life to Europe. All the greatness and glory of Europe is due to the great work inaugurated by those great men and carried on successfully by their followers. The one by his Reformation and the other by his Renaissance galvanised the dead bones of Europe and created the powerful nations which are the pride and glory of Europe to-day.

After Europe gently slipped away from priestly control she fell under the rule of the aristocratic princes and feudal lords who ruled her absolutely for over two

centuries. That was the Kshatriya period of European history. Protestantism became an accomplished fact more by the power of the sword of the protestant princes than by the missionary zeal of Luther.

The Kshatriya rule was gradually replaced by the Vaisya rule, the rule of great commercial classes, the rule by the nation of shop-keepers and the rule by the people who hold the maritime supremacy in their hands.

Then the great change into which Europe is drifting and Russia and England had already drifted is the rule by the labourites—the Sudra rule. A careful student of Indian history can also trace the same cycle of changes. In early India the Aryan priest was all in all. He controlled every human action. He dictated the sacrificial rites, he dictated the methods of administration (*Sukra neeti*), he dictated the mercantile laws (*Kautilya's Arthashastra*) and he imposed very hard and inhuman conditions on labourers.

As his power weakened he was replaced by the Aryan Kshatriya who fell an easy prey to a harder Kshatriya, the Mussalman invader.

After the Muslim rule we have the rule by the merchants of Lancashire and Birmingham dictating the policy of administration in their own best interests, sitting in the British houses of parliament.

The great forces that are convulsing the world are also felt in India. The labourers of India make common cause with the labourers of the world. There is a world-wide labourite movement. Man shakes hand with man as brother, as suffering from the same evils arising from modern commercialism and soulless capitalism. The world is drifting to that great ideal, the parliament of man.

and the federation of the world. The one great problem looming large before the mind of every patriot, statesman, philosopher and philanthropist is how to realise the brotherhood of man.

France dictated to the world three ideas, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The stir for Universal Liberty which first started in France convulsed the whole world and the effect of it was the formation of the Republic of United States of America, the French Republic, and all other republics of the world. The circumstances during the last war were far more favourable for the realisation of this ideal than those of any other period of human history. Europe, ruled by despotic monarchs till a few years ago, became the land of constitutional monarchies or republics.

The ideal of Equality is accomplished to a very large extent by the socialistic organisations all over the world.

But the gospel of fraternity is still a sentiment and the human mind is trying its best to find out a solution by which the sentiment of the brotherhood of man can be encased in human institutions. The whole world looks to the labourites to find out a practical method for accomplishing it. For, it is they that will be very largely benefited by the rapid spread of such institutions. The League of Nations is incapable of achieving anything, for it is aristocratic and capitalistic. The mind of man is hankering after human organisations to establish the brotherhood of man. Owing to the stress of poverty and the rise in the cost of living, the workmen, backed up by the unemployed graduates and university men, are trying for a change in the machinery of the government.

While all the European countries adopted parliamentary institutions the Russian peasant courted monarchical despotism in preference to parliamentary despotism. In Russia there used to be a large number of rich and landed aristocrats known as Boyars. The Russian people always supported the Czar against these nobles, for they were afraid that if parliamentary institutions were introduced as they existed in other western countries these nobles would fill the parliamentary seats and then begin to oppress the poor peasants. It is only an exchange of a single despot for multifarious despots. The Czar was then the only tyrant and if parliament, filled with those selfish nobles, were to exercise its power over the poor peasants there would have been innumerable tyrants. So in all constitutional struggles the people sided with the Czar against these nobles and it was why it took so long to blow up the Russian despotism as well as the oligarchical despotism which could have taken its place. It took time for Russia to invent a system of government free from the evils apprehended by the rule of aristocrats. The same circumstances prevail more or less in India. The sun-dried bureaucratic official is a great enemy of the poor Indian peasant. The foreign bureaucracy has not sufficient posts to provide for all the English-educated men and so a surplus of restless educated men are hanging on the society, winning the sympathy of the Indian peasant and a hope has arisen in the Indian workmen that with the help of the intelligence of the surplus discontented university-men they can have a democracy wherein the people can control the state without the intervention of the English-educated aristocrats, who had been hitherto instrumental in bringing them to a miserable condition by being members of a soul-killing bureaucratic machine.

Parliamentary institutions as adopted in England are not wholly suited to Indian conditions. Parliamentarism, the invention of the English political genius, is a necessary stage in the political evolution of democracy; for without it the generalised faculty of considering and managing with the least possible friction large problems of politics, administration, economics, legislation, cannot easily be developed. It has also been the only successful means of preventing the executive from suppressing the liberties of the individual and the nation. But true democracy has not been achieved by parliamentary institutions. The parliament has always been an instrument either of a modified aristocratic or of middle class rule. There is also an immense waste of time and energy in parliamentary methods. The result is often not suited to maintain the efficiency of state; and the administration is often corrupted and the management of a huge country with various languages on the uncertain and confused knowledge of the representatives who come from distant parts with no personal experience of the needs of the peoples in various provinces, for whom they legislate, is often cumbersome and attended with great injustice.

Lecky writes in the History of England in the 18th century Vol. 2 P. 44, 45, "The question in home politics, which excited most interest in the nation in the 18th century was one which, for very obvious reasons, parliament desired as much as possible to avoid. It was the extreme corruption of parliament itself, its subserviency to the influence of the executive, and the danger of its becoming in time rather the oppressor than the representative of the people."

America attempted to solve these difficulties by the method of federalism and France adopted the system of

parliamentary committees during the war. However, parliamentarism means in practice the rule of the majority.

The tendency of present-day politics is to attach importance to the rights of minorities. Any attempt to override them will mean serious discontent and disorders or even convulsions fatal to the whole state. Decentralisation may to a large extent minimise the disadvantages under which minorities may suffer. People are not inimical to the English nor do they wish that the English should go away from India. International contact and intercourse are advantageous to all. The people want more opportunities to develop. They want more freedom, more room for intellectual, moral and spiritual expansion. They want to display greater heroism, greater courage, greater capacity to manage their affairs and greater intelligence. They do not want to be oppressed or exploited. They aim at self-development, self-realization, self-expression, self-reliance, self-help and self-respect. They want the same privileges in their own country as other peoples enjoy in their countries. No Englishman likes to be ruled by a Frenchman nor does he wish the Frenchman to manage his affairs for him. So also the Indian. He wants to be at home, on his own soil. A foreign bureaucracy, however good it may be, cannot look after the interests of subject nations with the same zeal as the people themselves can look after. It often neglects the most important duties which are necessary for the well-being of the people. Those duties can be performed only when the government is nationalised. It is difficult for a single nation to look after its own interests as well as the interests of subject nations and in case of conflicting interests between the two countries the subject nation will be at a great disadvantage, for it is natural for men to be more anxious for the

welfare of their own country than for that of other countries. If there is a war with any other nation the subject country also is dragged unnecessarily into the vortex of war.

The British government has not developed in India all sides of national administration. There is no Indian navy, nor did the government help or encourage the building up of a fleet of mercantile vessels. It is during the British regime that the indigenous shipping and ship-building industry have declined and almost entirely disappeared. The Indian army is not controlled in all its arms by Indians. There is no aerial fleet and Indians are not given commissioned ranks. These and many others have exasperated the self-respecting Indians and hence the forces of democracy are set in motion and Prometheus may be chained but he has kindled the fire and it will never be extinguished.

A complete democracy is the ideal looming large before the minds of the Indian people. The parliamentary and plutocratic democracy prevalent in most modern states is transitory and is giving place to labour collectivism. The artificial geographical forms of parliamentary representation are being replaced by the living organs of syndical representation and co-operative societies. This is the great change taking place in the West. India also develops on her own national lines, observing the great changes that are taking place in the world abroad and adopting herself to the environment.

When in a nation material prosperity alone is cared in preference to spiritual progress the rich first and then the proletariat assume the power. When the industry of labour becomes the chief activity the labourer also acquires gradually some importance. Where people worship Mammon and produce wealth, the producer becomes

the king. All interests must yield one day before him on whom they depend. The labourer is the main support of every industry, and as it is impossible to manage without him, he ultimately becomes the master. Thus materialism leads to the reign of the labourer. The same economical facts that brought the capitalist into power, are bringing the labourer also into power. This is the evolution going on in every western state.

There is a way to ward off the evils arising in western communities by organising the society. Lord Acton says, "The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, for laws should be adopted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom mis-government means not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain and degradation and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls. Organise the interests of the labourers and of the masses that they may not organise themselves in future against the rich. Let the claims of justice be heeded to. Let men be pure in thought, word and deed. Let men give up drink, use of intoxicating drugs and poisonous food stuffs.

The West cannot be imitated as it is, but new methods to avoid the dangers and evils of western societies have to be introduced. Instead of transplanting western institutions wholesale, such methods as will originate a right spirit to establish a true democracy have to be introduced. Selfishness is to be given up. True democracy cannot be the result "of mechanical systems engineered by the intelligence of man but it is the out-come of a thorough change of heart in our dealings with our fellow-countrymen. It does not depend on institutions, laws and parliaments. There are empires where complete democracy prevails and republics where the presidents are more autocratic than the Czars.

and the Kaisers. The treatment of slaves in the Athenian republic is shocking to the sense of humanity in us. The treatment of the people in the Empire of Asoka was far better than the treatment in any of the most advanced and up-to-date republics of the world.

All the democratic institutions of England do not prevent the capitalists and nobles from acquiring all the land for themselves and controlling all the industries in the land. True democracy does not consist in electoral parades. It does not consist in merely exercising the right of franchise while the poor voter has no real means of keeping his body and soul together and has to drudge in the factories of the capitalists, or on the fields of the landlords, to eke out a bare living. The tyranny of a few cannot be liberty. A presumptive autocracy or an elective plutocracy cannot pass for democracy.

True democracy is one which frees man from his real bonds of servitude, that which makes him greater, nobler, more beautiful and more happy. Emerson says, "What we wish is to found a democracy of terrestrial Gods." In true democracy all men will be treated equally and the greatest are those who are the most disinterested. Even the poorest man may have the chance to exercise the sovereign power. All affairs should be guided by public opinion which is the heart and soul of peoples but not the caprice of the mob or the twisted version of interested parties. Those who are above selfishness alone can know and serve it. A mutual respect for individual powers by the great collective soul, and the great collective power by the individual soul is true democracy. It is both individualistic and collectivistic. True democracy excludes only false greatness but it creates the real nobility. Human mind is trying its best to find a method to achieve this

true democracy and nowhere has it been completely successful.

Every country to develop its institutions, be they social or political, on the lines of true democracy must find out the nucleus wherefrom it can be developed. Mr. E. B. Havell says in his *"Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India"*—"It is true that Indo-Aryan liberty was not of the crude Western type represented by the formula 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.' It was liberty for every man, whether king or peasant, to follow his own Dharma—the Dharma being that which long tradition and the wisest of Aryan law-givers who knew Indian history and the Indian people, had taught every man within the Aryan pale to regard as his duty to God, the state, his house-hold and himself. And the constitution which preserved this fine ideal of liberty was the Aryan miniature republic, with its Council of Five, which was the political unit of Indo-Aryan government." Arrian states that in ancient India every one was free. Mark Wilks says, "Each Hindu township is and indeed always was, a particular community or petty republic by itself and the whole of India is nothing more than one vast congeries of such republics."*

*Sir George Birdwood wrote, "the village communities remain in full municipal vigour all over the peninsula." Sir Charles Metcalfe called them "little republics." He says in his Minute in 1832: "This union of the village communities, each forming a separate little estate in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

Such decentralisation though it was unconscious, was a source of national self-preservation through the vicissitudes of Indian political life.†

The village administration was carried on by Panchayats. The same principle being extended to Taluks, we have Taluk panchayats, to districts we have district panchayats, to provinces we have provincial panchayats and to the whole nation the national panchayat. It is incumbent on the Indian national congress to find out and suggest such measures as will promote true democracy in this land and organise the society in such a way as to avert the great catastrophe that is staring the western world in the face from extending its nefarious influence on the poor people of this ancient land.

Let it not be mistaken that I am advocating Bolshevism. The reign of terror which the Bolshevik had created in Russia, the insecurity of life and liberty which the Russian nobles experienced in the Bolshevik regime, the confiscation and the destruction of the property of the innocent are things abominable to all rational minds. But my endeavour throughout the book is to adopt ourselves to the modern environment averting the evils prevalent in Western society.

For instance there is 3/4 of the arable land in our country yet to be cultivated. That land may be distributed among those who do not own any land. To discourage absentee-land-lordism each individual may be allowed to own as much land as he can personally supervise and cultivate and the extra land be utilised by the state for

†In Elphinstone's History of India it is stated, "But among all these changes, the townships remain entire, and they are the indestructible atoms from an aggregate of which the most extensive empires are composed."

distribution among the needy and the willing. Neither land nor money should be allowed to accumulate in the hands of the greedy few. The state may so ordain that no one should possess more than the statutory limit of land which could be prescribed for each individual. This may also necessitate the nationalisation of all land reserving sufficient rights to the citizens to create a living interest in fertilising and strengthening the land so that the enthusiasm for bringing it under better cultivation may not in any way be impaired.

An alien bureaucracy is always afraid of dealing with legislation affecting the social and religious life of the people for it may clog the progress of exploitation which is the sole purpose of its existence. The archaic laws of the people are allowed to remain as they are and a subject people are naturally satisfied with the position assigned to them and they often mistake such a *laissez faire* policy for religious toleration. But an awakened people imbued with political life realise the strength of equality and uniformity as far as possible according to the circumstances which change with every advance of human society and the environment in which they happen to live. As true democracy advances, a craving for a uniform civil code will create itself among the people instead of sticking to the separate personal laws which are now accepted in accordance with the custom, usage and religious ceremonialism of each community. Religious law shall give away to positive law as men's minds are exorcised of the demon of Theocracy.

10th August, 1924

—THE AUTHOR.

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INTRODUCTION.

The great changes that have recently taken place in the world have affected the mentality of all the races and peoples inhabiting this planet of ours. No doubt there were eras of great change as in the days of Ramayana and Mahabharata, in India, of the Athenian Empire in Greece, of the Augustan age in Rome, of the Renaissance and Reformation in Europe, of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Domination in France, of the Victorian age in England; but the changes of the last decade are most striking, readily surpassing any of those of the previous periods in the extent of their transformation and in the immediate significance of their achievements. During this period we have witnessed an acceleration of events that is absolutely without parallel a volcanic energy for which there is no comparison in all History in every phase of human life and activity.

Four great dynasties - the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, the Romanoffs, the Ottomans - have been swept away and their places have been taken by a number of new republics, all sharing a fervent belief in their new nationality and a love for their independence, each having its own policy and its own problems. Not a single autocratic ruler is now found in Europe. The constitutions of Sweden, Denmark and Holland have all undergone considerable modifications in accordance with the democratic ideal. Portugal, a monarchy in 1910, is now a republic. The monarchy in Greece has toppled down and Greece has entered on the republican horizon.

The consciousness of individual distinctions has been gaining ground, though the obstacles between man and man to come in contact have been removed by mutual

intercourse; the differences between the diverse sections of mankind have been growing stronger and stronger. The smaller nations who had been content to remain attached to the greater powers have become restlessly anxious to become separate and independent states. The principle of self-determination has been in full swing in the present day world. Norway separates itself from Sweden. Ireland wants to become an independent republic. People no longer believe that unification means strength or that bulk means greatness. Though they respect true distinctions either for expediency or solidarity, suppressed distinctions have become dangerously explosive and if allowed to remain suppressed, may burst out in revolutions at the slightest shock.

The conflict between Imperialism and Nationalism is growing keener day by day. The back of plutocracy is broken. Labourites have raised their heads. Man claims his equal rights. It now remains to be seen whether Britain still persists in her rotten and moth-eaten fabric of imperialism or gives way to a vigorous and new born British Commonwealth.

The spirit of progress whirls round and round the torch of freedom over all the places traversed over by the sun enlightening every nook and corner of the world with ideas of self-reliance and self-determination. The Czechs of Bohemia and Slavoks of Slavokia claimed an independent state. We have the Czecho-Slavokia. Esthonia, Latvia Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, Azir Baijan and many other states under Tsarist Russia were carved out as minor republics in accordance with the principle of self-determination. Koreans are claiming Korea for themselves; Siberians Siberia for themselves; the Phillippines the Phillipine islands for themselves. In India too the spirit

of Nationalism flows like the great Himalayan avalanche from Kashmir to Cape Conorin overflowing its banks (*Karachi on one side and Chillagong on the other*) fertilising the plains of India with new ideas and aspirations. The breeze of Freedom that blows from the republic of China in the north-east and the gale of self-determination that wafts across the Hindu Kush in the north-west cannot but revive the dead bones of Indian Nationality and breathe a new spirit and a new life into the body politic of India, however much oppressed, suppressed and depressed the people may be.

Is there an Indian who does not envy the independence of Afghanistan when he looks askance at it? Is the revived race-consciousness of India to go in vain without effecting changes of great magnitude and of far-reaching significance in the near future? Has ever man invented a machine-gun or a howitzer which can blow up the united will of a people to be free that can be made in any human manufactory, nor has he been able to confine the determination of a fifth of the human race within stony walls of whatever magnitude they may be? Tyrants may conceive designs for over-throwing their opponents but in no case has tyranny been able to maintain itself for all time to come. In all times the struggle of man is to overcome tyranny, be it social, religious or political. The aim of the tyrant is to keep all men down so that he may be safe and secure in his position by all acts however horrible they may be.

Camsa and Herod killed all babies in Mathura and Egypt so that they may reign unopposed. Nicholas transported all the professors and intellectuals of Russia to Vladivostock tearing them away from their hearths and homes so that he might kill the communistic spirit of young

Russia. Could they succeed? Let a historian answer. History is but a narrative of events which make up and break up empires. The last European War has taught man a good lesson. It created natural hatred of empire idea and pushed forward the principle of self-determination which stands glittering in its resplendant splendour before the intellectual gaze of an astonishing and admiring world. It had brought to light the evil designs of Imperialism to forge fetters on dull and innocent humanity. It has exposed the blackness of heart lying like a Basilisk behind the thin veneer of European civilisation. It has awakened man to assert his liberty against the tyranny of the priest, the capitalist and the bureaucrat. It has shown that diplomacy is euphemism for hypocrisy. Every military adventurer entertaining imperialistic designs over his neighbours is warned of the doom that has befallen the Czar and the Kaiser. The world looks aghast at the sight of the blood that flowed in torrents over the plains of Central Europe. The Angel of Science descending on earth to protect and shelter man under her spreading dewy wings has to rise higher, stained black into the region of patents laden with the weight of 10 million corpses. Starvation stares in the face of the unemployed millions of Europe. Capitalism is labouring hard in the agony of death. Socialism woos all modern states. Theocracy is dead and buried deep beyond the hope of resurrection and an imperishable tomb is built over it in Angora.

These are some of the facts which unavoidably occur to our mind before the subject of Indian democracy can be dealt with. Democracy is Government by the people for the people. In all ages and in all climes there is the ruler and the ruled. The ruler may be a single individual or a class of individuals or all the individuals. If the single

ruler is autocratic he is a despot and if he cared for the welfare of his subjects he was a benevolent despot. If the country is ruled by a class of individuals it is oligarchy. That class may be an aristocracy of birth or of wealth or of intellect.

Of these three, the aristocracy of birth is the worst as the Brahmanical supremacy proved to be in the 7th & 8th centuries of Christian Era in India and the aristocracy of wealth as prevalent in England and America is, in no way, better. The aristocracy of intellect is, no doubt, better than the other two but that too cannot guarantee the rights and liberties of the masses.

In England and America the aristocracy of wealth passes for democracy. The real democracy must be distinguished from this sort of false democracy. Wherein is the political power vested in the British Empire? It is in the hands of the few capitalists in Manchester and Birmingham.

But Indian democracy means Government by *all* the people of India for the Indian people. Whatever be the agency every Government is intended for the people, but nowhere has it existed for the people except it be one by the people. The autocrat of Russia who could with impunity chop away as many heads as he pleased, said that he ruled for the people. Similar was the slogan of the aristocracies of the ancient world as well as of the modern world.

Every empire is the out-come of some idiosyncrasy or other, dominant in the human mind as fanaticism, avarice, ambition, arrogance, hypocrisy and blood-thirstiness. The destruction of an empire is the eradication of one of these evil tendencies dominant in the minds of the imperialists of that age. The Chinese Empire, the Aryan,

Hindu, Buddhistic and Moghul empires in India, the Assyrian empire, the Persian empire, the Chaldean empire, the Babylonian empire, the Ottoman empire, the Egyptian empire, the Greek empire, the Carthaginian empire, the Roman empire, the French empire, the German empire, the Russian empire have all died natural deaths as soon as the evil propensities domineering in the minds of their rulers could not find a place therein. As each empire walked out of existence, it left behind humanity purer, nobler and more elevated. The dark night of Imperialism is gone and the dawn of Freedom is visible on the horizon. Lo! The morning star of Nationalism! Wake up as its gentle rays touch your eye-lids of ignorance and create in you the consciousness of the dawn of the new age. Rush to work with all the other peoples of the earth. So that you may not fall behind in the race for existence. The democratic sun grows brighter and brighter as the day advances and people begin to work, live and die for humanity, forgetting their individual selves. Where people are prepared to sacrifice themselves for the common weal there only democracy likes to stay.

People may support Democracy either because they look to it merely as the panacea of oppression or because an ideal despotism though it may be benevolent is inferior to ideal democracy as every individual has an opportunity of directing himself instead of being directed by others. In the view of the latter it is more than a mere political system but it is an ideal state where everybody can have opportunities of moral and spiritual advancement. The scope for self-management is a blessing in itself for its basis is the equality of man. Men may not have equal abilities but they have a birth right for equal opportunity for self-developments. Self-direction is the common right of all. Self-direction, like all other rights, is the heritage of man.

and every one is entitled to it, and whoever allows himself to be directed by others neglects his duty towards God and man. There may be a degree of difference in his capacity for sharing this right—self-direction. All our social activities are closely related to each other as the limbs of the human organism. Any suffering in any particular limb affects the whole human body; so neglect of any social activity may affect the whole body politic. So man can never allow himself to be directed by another for ever and ever. Democracy has for its sole object the material and moral welfare of the people. What then are the circumstances developing in India towards Democracy? Before the various aspects of democracy are dealt with, it is absolutely necessary that we should know something of the Indian sociology. I shall first proceed to sketch very briefly the habits, customs, religious observances, social institutions and political conceptions of the various races that poured forth into India through the north-western frontier.

Development of Democracy in India.

Chapter 1.

INDIAN SOCIOLOGY.

"Democracy" says Rousseau, "is a state difficult even for gods to attain." The origin and growth of democracy depends upon the sociological environment in which it exists. To know well the Indian sociology recourse must be had to the innumerable records in which the social institutions of the various peoples inhabiting this great land of ours are well described. The records extend from the earliest vedic times to the present day. So to distinguish the various stages of growth and decline, we have to trace them through eight great periods—the Vedic Period, the Sutra Period, the Epic Period, the Smritic Period, the Buddhistic Period, the Puranic Period, the Muhammadan Period, and the Democratic Period. But it is not possible to trace the changes through every period as the sociological history is to be gathered from various sources and it is not possible to state with precision when a particular custom arose and when others fell into disuse. So I treat the subject considering the various peoples that came to inhabit this land.

THE ARYANS.

In the palmy days of the Aryan glory which extends over the first three periods their social institutions are so arranged as to help the growth and progress of the various tribes that constituted the great Aryan nation. It is needless for us to attempt to discuss whether Aryans came from Central Asia or whether they were born in India itself. Whatever it be, we learn from the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda that they once lived on the banks of the Indus.

in that region of the country now popularly known as Afghanistan and the Panjab.

Thenceforward we shall trace their social institutions as they expanded towards the east and the south. In a few years they were able to occupy the whole of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra plains, in fact the whole of northern India then known as Aryavarta. Their colonisation of the south also proceeded rapidly. Some advance guards under Agastya and Atri already occupied Southern India before Rama finally conquered the Deccan for the Aryans. The great poet-laureate of Asia describes the epic of Ramayana as the Aryan conquest of the Deccan by our national hero Rama and the introduction in the south of agricultural civilisation characteristic of the Aryans. The word Aryan implies one acquainted with the processes of agriculture, an earer of the ground to use an Elizabethan word.

Among the Aryans of historic eminence, there was no rigidity of caste as it exists to-day, women were given equal status with men, there were no early marriages nor was there enforced widowhood, women were highly educated, education was of a free, liberal and soul-elevating kind, people were not forbidden to go to foreign lands, idolatry was unknown to them, aliens were freely taken into their fold, society was well organised to withstand internal insurrections and to ward off external invasions and, in short, their religious, political, economic and social institutions were best suited to the developments of humanity and the realisation of human brotherhood.

SOCIAL SOLIDARITY.

The Aryans were divided into a good many tribes, each having a king of its own and a family of priests.

Those who composed Brahmanas and Mantras were known as Brahmins, those who fought were known as Rajans, all others were known as Visas or people generally. Those who came and mixed with the Aryas were known as Sudras. In course of time their professions became hereditary and they formed into castes. These four castes are mentioned in one of the latest hymns of Rigveda. The ethical basis of caste as declared in the four-fold division of Hindu society is to-day the same as it was when the Rishis of Purusha Sukta of the Rig Vedas (Book X, Hymn 90) sang of "the Brahman being the mouth, the Rajanya the arms, the Vaisya the thighs and the Sudra the feet of the Purusha." There were no sub-castes. It was not always possible to follow the profession which brought them into existence. Some Brahmins officiated as priests at sacrifices and in domestic ceremonies. Some of them took to religious study and composed Brahmanas and Aranyakas including Upanishads. Some others took to agriculture, trade and other occupations and some took to politics. There was for some time a Brahmanic dynasty reigning at Pataliputra. The Rajans or Kshatriyas had for their sole occupation politics and war. Some of them devoted themselves to philosophy and literature. Raja Vidya was first cultivated by them. Sri Rama, Sri Krishna, Buddha, Mahavira all belonged to the Kshatriya caste. The Rishi Apastamba says a Brahman may study the Vedas under a Kshatriya or Vaisya teacher. Inter-marriage among the castes was not prohibited. A legal marriage alliance could be effected between man and woman to whatever caste they might belong. But the marriage of a Sudra man with Brahman woman was discouraged and there is abundant proof that such alliances did take place. The issues by all the marriages were legitimate and the wives lawfully married. This was called Anuloma marriage. But if a

Brahman woman married a man of a Kshatriya or Visya class it was Pratiloma or a mes-alliance. But though reprobated such marriages were not unlawful. Shukracharya's daughter Devayani married Yayati and Kritwi was given to Aunlia. The daughter of the King of Vidarbha was given in marriage to Agastya. Another Rajah by name Lomapada gave his daughter in marriage to one Rishya-shringa. The King Trinabandhu gave his daughter to Pulasti and Bhagiratha gave his daughter to Koutsa Rishi. The King Sharayati's daughter was given in marriage to Chyavanya Rishi. There are also various names given to the offspring of these inter-marriages. The issue of a Brahman with Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra woman were known as and followed the professions stated here. Kshatriyas, Councillors, Ambhastas, Physicians and Parasavas aide-camps; the issue of a Kshatriya man with a Brahman, Vaisya and Sudra woman were called Sutas, charioteers also sometimes ministers and companions of Kings, Vainas musicians, Ugras and Pukkas, fowlers; the issue of a Vaisya man with a Brahman, Kshatriya and Sudra woman were called Vaidehas, guardians of Royal household, Magadhas, traders on land, Daigvanas hide dealers; the issue of a Sudra man with a Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya woman were called *Ayogavas*, cultivators, *kshattas*, fowlers, *chandalas*, beef-eaters and corpse-burners. Progress from a lower to a higher caste was recognised in those times and Parasava who was the offspring of a Brahman father and Sudra mother could, according to Manu, become a Brahman in the seventh generation. Such a person, if he performed a Paka Yajnya according to the smrities became an Arya (Brahman)—Manu Chap. X verses 64 and 67. Vidura of the Mahabharata was the son of a Brahman from a Sudra woman. He was looked upon as the very embodiment of Dharma. Brahmans learnt sastras even from fowlers and

sellers of meat. "Neither birth, nor study, nor learning constitutes Brahmanhood; character alone constitutes it" (Mahabharata: Vana Parva, chapter 313, Verse 108). "A person not trained in the Vedas is a Sudra and that who ever conforms to the rules of pure and virtuous conduct is a Brahmana." (Mahabharata: Vana Parva Chap. 180 Verse 32). Rajas manufactured Brahmans out of low caste men in Upper India. The Kunda Brahmans of Pratabgarh in Oaudh, the Tirgunaits and the Sivaliks of Gorakhpore and Basti who call themselves Dubas (Dwivedis), Upadhyas, Tivaris (Trivedis) were the result of this process. Among the Composers of the Vedic hymns there were some such as Kavasha Ailusha who did not belong to the Brahman caste but was still admitted into it on account of the faculty they possessed.

COMMENSALITY.

In Mahabharatta and other works we see that Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas could eat the food cooked by each other. Manu lays down generally that a twice-born should not eat the food cooked by a Sudra (IV. 223) but he allows that prepared by a Sudra who has attached himself to one, or is one's barber, milkman, slave, family friend and cosharer in the profits of agriculture, to be partaken (IV 253). Gautama, the author of a Dharma-sutra, permits a Brahman's dining with a twice born (Kshatriya or Vaisya) who observes his religious duties (17,1).

Apastamba, though he says that a Brahman should not eat with a Kshatriya and others, admits that others say that he might do so with men of all the Varnas who observe their proper religious duties except with the Sudras but he accedes also that Manu allows a Brahman to dine with a Sudra who might have attached himself to him with a holy

intent. In the Mahabharata we see that the Brahmanic sage Durvasa shared the hospitality of Droupadi the wife of Pandavas who were Kshatriyas. But in course of time as the professions increased and people began to settle in various professions a number of sub-castes arose :—

- 1 The difference of locality gave rise to a difference of caste.
- 2 The difference of race also paved the way for the formation of a different caste.
- 3 The difference in profession and when ordinances and usages of a caste are violated by some members, others ex-communicated them and they formed a new caste.
- 4 People formed into trade guilds and by their exclusiveness in their dealings with other men formed into separate castes.
- 5 Different religious schools created different castes.
- 6 Differences in the food taken by the people whether vegetarian or otherwise divided them into castes.

It is generally supposed that abstinence from meat is an essential condition of Brahmanism. But according to all authorities the Brahmans and other twice born used meat in ancient times. The flesh of five species of fine clawed animals is permitted to be eaten in the Dharma Sutras; and even beef is allowed by Apastamba (1-17, 30, 37.) Most of the sacrifices of the Vedic religion were animal sacrifices, and the animals killed by suffocation for the purpose were goats, sheep, cows or bulls and horses. But later Smriti writers Manu and Yagnavalkya prohibit the use of meat though they admit that it was a custom prevail-

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flesh) shall live outside the village; they shall have no utensils for their use; their property shall consist of dogs and asses." "While engaged in the performance of religious duties no twice-born man shall have anything to do with them. They shall have dealings amongst themselves and contract marriages with their equals."

Parasara says "A Brahman who has slept with a Chan-lala shall fast for 3 days. A Brahman who has walked on a road with a Chandala is purified by the repetition of Gayatri. A Brahman touching a Chandala shall forthwith look at the sun, and also perform his ablutions with his clothing on." A Brahman drinking water from a well, being unaware that it was sunk by a Chandala, is purified by taking only a single meal daily, for three consecutive days. If a Brahman drinks water from a well touched by the pot of a Chandala, he is purified after eating Yavas (barley) cooked in cow's urine for three days. A Brahman who drinks water from the pot of a Chandala is purified by performing the Prajapatya ceremony, provided that he has spit it out forthwith." A reference to the later Sanscrit writers shows that there was no improvement in the position of Chandalas as a class in Epic or Puranic times. The sacred books say explicitly that a man is a Chandala not by his birth but by his actions. There are instances in ancient times of men born as Chandalas who rose to eminence by their learning and character and were held in the highest estimation by their contemporaries and their memory is venerated down to the present day. If tradition may be believed, Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana, the great epic poem in Sanscrit, is said to have been a Pan-chama. This tradition is supported by the Padmapurana and Gnaana Vasishta, both of which are regarded as works of authority by learned Brahmans. The immortal author

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of Kural, known as Tiruvalluvar and Tiruppaniyalwar one of the twelve saints worshiped by the Vaishnava community are both supposed to have been men of Panchama origin. Marner Nambiyar, a disciple of Yamunacharyar, one of the greatest Vaishnava scholar saints of antiquity, though a Panchama by birth, received all the high funeral honours of a Brahman saint on his death.

STATUS OF WOMEN.

A wife and husband are known as Dampati i.e. two masters of the house. The Vedic mantras recited at the time of marriage mean "The gods gave her to the bridegroom for house-keeping; their union was as permanent and intimate as that of the earth and the heaven; and she became his friend and companion." The husband cannot keep the sacred fire without her; her presence and co-operation are necessary in all great sacrifices. Hareetha Sutra says, "females are of two classes, viz. Brahmavadins and Sadyavadins. Of these, to Brahmavadins belong rights of Oupanayana, of sacred fire, and of religious mendicancy within home—to Sadyavadins, a sort of brief Oupanayana on the eve of approaching marriage must be performed and then the rites of marriage." Yamah says "In former kalpa, girls had mounjee put upon them (had Oupanayana performed). They were instructed in the Vedas and were taught in Savithree. They were taught Vedas either by their fathers, or uncles or brothers and by none others. They carried on religious mendicancy in their own homes and they were exempt from using deer skin the bachelor's clothing and matted hair." In fact there was no difference between boy and girl. In Greece the allegiance of the citizen to his state was looked upon as his paramount duty and lest family ties should in any way impair this, the women were deprived of all higher offices. Kept in secret seclusion

with no education worthy of the name they were reduced to the condition of slaves. Similor was the position of Roman women who were subject to their husbands as absolutely as they had been their slaves, whereas in India woman was the intellectual companion of her husband, his friend and adviser in life. She was honoured and respected by him, and her supremacy in his home was absolute as wife and mother. She often distinguished herself in science and in the learning of the times. She had even a certain amount of influence in politics and administration. She attended great assemblies, she openly frequented public thoroughfares. There was no religious obligation that every girl should be married.

Even from Vedic times the Aryan women were well known for the possession of domestic virtues, such as devotion to husbands, affection for children, careful attention to house-hold duties, modesty, gentleness and hospitality. In Epic times Gandhari the mother of the obstinate Duryodhana went into the council of kings and chiefs and pleaded with Duryodhana in open court to check him from the path of ruin into which he was rushing. In the age of Sutras and the laws of Manu though women enjoyed a considerable amount of liberty there was a distinct decline in their position. Though a wife was highly respected, a woman as such was held in little esteem. In the Taithiriya Samhita it is stated that women are unsubstantial and consequently excluded from inheritance. Yasaka gives two views—one agreeing with this and another to the effect that they can inherit. About the time of Yasaka, women began to suffer in estimation of men. Manu speaks of women as having no will of their own and unfit for independence, but he was probably describing a state of society, which it was the aim of priesthood to

establish, rather than that which really existed ~~then~~. Manu says "when a girl her father, when a wife her husband and on the death of her husband her sons are the proper guardians of a woman."

But a woman was honoured in the family and held in high esteem by the society in which she lived. Manu says "A teacher is ten times more venerable than a sub-teacher, the father a hundred times more than the teacher and the mother a thousand times more than the father." In the Shakta Tantra woman is regarded a divinity as the earthly representative of the great mother of all. Women took part in battles also. We hear of Kaikeyi helping Dasaratha in a war against the Asuras, Satyabhama assisting Sree-Krishna in his wars against Naraka, Kunti the mother of Pandavas exhorted her sons for battle. "This is the moment for which a Kshatriya woman bears her sons." Tradition says that Durga killed Mahishasura on Ashtami in Aswayuj. Many women acted as nurses, assistants and servants to warriors on the field of battle. Many women remained unmarried throughout their lives and they engaged themselves in the pursuit of devotional exercises or in the study of philosophy. The story of Amba who remained unmarried all her life is well known. The daughter of Kunigarga also remained unmarried during life. Gargi, Maitreyi and Prathitheyi were women who passed their lives in celibacy engaging themselves in philosophical discussions in the Court of Janaka.

MARRIAGES.

In Vedic times girls were married after they came of age. The religious formulas that are repeated on the occasion of marriage ceremonies even at the present day can be understood only by mature girls. In some Sūtras

the bride and bridegroom are directed to live apart from each other for a certain number of days and in some cases for a year. It is not possible that such a direction should be given if the girl was of an age when she could not cohabit with her husband. In some of the sutras there is an actual direction that they should be brought together on the fourth day after the marriage ceremony. All this necessarily implies that the girl arrived at maturity before the marriage ceremony was performed. Asvalayana, Apastamba and others say nothing specific about the age of the girl at the time of marriage but it is to be understood from the nature of the ceremonies that they were to be of mature age. Hiranyakesa and Jaimini expressly prohibit marriage of a girl before she has arrived at puberty. They say that a man, after the completion of his study, may marry a girl anagnika (mature). They denounce early marriages as irrational. The authors of later Grihya Sutras, as Gobhila, Gobhila Putra and the Manava Grihya advise the marriage of a girl nagnika (immature). Of the writers of Metrical Smrities, Manu is not quite decidedly opposed to late marriages. In the Rigveda times girls were free and could choose their own husbands. In one passage Manu states that a girl is to wait for 3 years after attainment of puberty to see if her father gets her married. If he does not, then at the end of that period, she may look for a suitable husband for herself and select and marry one. Bandhayana states similarly. The great medical authority Sushruta says: "A woman is considered to be a child till the 16th year of her age and afterwards to be in her youth till the 32nd year. If a man of less than 25 years begets a child on a woman of less than 16 years it remains in the womb. If it is born it does not live long, and if it lives at all, it is weak." Judging from the instances of Draupadi, Shakuntala, Damayanti and several

others it would seem that it was quite an ordinary thing for girls to remain unmarried till considerably after they attained their years of direction. Though these women belong to Kshatriya caste, the laws of marriage were the same for all the three regenerate classes.

WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE.

There was no enforced widowhood in Vedic times. There were no restrictions on a woman to take a second husband if the first husband was dead. Till consummation, the bride and bridegroom did not become united in Gotra, Pinda and Sutaka and hence there was no real widowhood of the bride if the bride-groom happened to die before consummation, any more than if the bridegroom died just after mere mental or oral gift of the bride by her father.

The Aitareya Brahmana says "therefore one may have several wives but one woman cannot have several husbands simultaneously." It implies that a woman may have husbands at different times.

Rigveda Samhita says:— "Rise up, O woman! to join the world of the living. Thou liest with this man who is dead; come away and mayest thou become the wife of this second husband, who is to take hold of thy hand." The same verse is also found in Taittiriya Aranyaka. Sayana, the commentator, adopts the same explanation as above. The same verse is found also in Atharva veda. In another place in the Atharvaveda it is stated that "she, who, after having had one husband before, gets another afterwards, will not be separated from him and if she and he perform the rite called Ajahanchandana." In the time of Manu it was restricted to child widow. In two other metrical Smritis, Parasara and Narada, occurs a text, in which women under

certain circumstances are allowed to marry a second husband and the death of the first husband is one of these circumstances. Manu says "If the husband has disappeared and cannot be found, if he is dead, if he is banished or is a eunuch or becomes an out-caste; in the case of the occurrence of these five misfortunes, a second husband is ordained for women." The same or similar permission is accorded in Smritis of Narada and Parasara. The Smriti of Parasara is the guiding authority in the Kaliyuga in the present age. Katyayana, Vasishtha, Shatatapa and Prajapathi accord this permission to women whose marriage was not consummated. Even in the Puranas, however, traces of the custom of remarriage are found. The first on the list is the remarriage of Ulipi, the widowed daughter of a patriarch of the Naga tribe who, on the death of her first husband, was given in marriage by her father to the famous Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata story. Ulipi in so many distinct words, is described to have become one of Arjuna's many wives. The son she bore to him is emphatically described to be his legitimate born son and not of the inferior sorts of sons. The entire narrative in the Mahabharat and still more emphatically Jaimini's continuation corroborates this assertion. The second instance frequently quoted is that of Damayanti's second Swayamvara which shows that the practice of sacred marriage by women had not been discredited. The third instance is in Padma Purana where the king of Benares gave his daughter successively 20 times in marriage as soon as the son-in-law died each time. The Kshirabddhi Dwadasavratam is celebrated on the 12th day in the bright fortnight of Kartik in commemoration of Vishnu marrying Brinda the widow of Jaratkara, having risen from the ocean of milk on the leaf of *figus Bengalensis*.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

In the Vedic times women were not kept ignorant. They were given opportunity for intellectual development. There were great teachers and writers of Vedic hymns among women.

In the list of teachers or Acharyas of the Rigveda given in Asvalayana's Crilyasutra which a Rigveda Brahman repeats in connection with a daily ceremony called Brahmayaajna, there are the names of three women---Gargi Vachakneyi, Sulabha Maitreyi, and Vadava Pratitheyi. The first of these is also mentioned in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, as forming a member of an assemblage of learned Rishis in which the highest problems about the world, the supreme and individual soul were discussed and as taking part in the debate at the court of Janaka, king of Videhas.

In Ramayana and Mahabharata girls received a regular course of education and are represented as having taken part in discussion on sublime subjects. Sulabha Maitreyi is introduced in the Mahabharata as discoursing on Brahman with King Janaka. Buddhistic literature also speaks of women having taken part in the reform inaugurated by Buddha and discussed with him on points about virtue, duty and absolution. In another part of Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, Maitreyi, the wife of Yajnavalkya is represented to have asked him whether wealth could confer immortality on her and she begged him to explain to her what he knew about Brahman. And so Yajnavalkya discourses on it to her and she interrupts him with intelligent questions. This discourse is famous and often referred to in the Advaita Vedanta taught by Sankaracharya. Draupadi is represented as carrying on a new controversy with Yudhisthira about God's dealings with men.

When Buddha was going about preaching his gospel, his great supporters were women who gave him and his numerous disciples many gifts and fed them at their houses. One such female devotee frequently referred in the Pali Buddhistic books was a rich lady of the name of Visakha who resided at Sravasti, the capital of Kosala. In later times, too, a good many educated women helped the Buddhistic monks. Pandit Harideva Sastry gives a long list of educated women of India.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION.

The Aryan youth received a very liberal education embracing the study of the whole universe. The idea of a modern university conveys to us the idea of a Senate house with its glittering domes and embroidered ceiling. The education that it imparts and controls is of a sterile nature devoid of originality. But the education of the Aryan youth brought out all the sublime instincts in the human soul and gave vent to noblest thoughts ever entertained by man. In the Himalayan forests sang the great Rishis of the old the hymns of the Rigveda which are the wonder and admiration of the modern world. A quotation from Rigveda (1-113) will show how sublime their thoughts were and how natural their description was, and how original their ideas were.

“The light has come, of all the lights the fairest,
The brilliant brightness has been born, for shining
Urged on to prompt the sun-god's shining power;
Night now hath yielded up her place to morning
This heaven's daughter has appeared before us
The maiden dazzling in her brilliant garments
Thou sovereign mistress of all earthly treasure
Auspicious dawn, flash thou to-day upon us !

The forest is to the Aryan as the city is to the European. In the forest the Indian contemplates and in the city the European manufactures. The one acquires spiritual power and the other material wealth. So the forest is very sacred to the Hindu.

Their apostrophisation of the forest (Rigveda I) is as follows:—

“Aranyani, Aranyani, dost thou not loose thy way
in thy forest paths?

“Art thou never afraid? Does fear never bring thee
to our village home?

When the grasshopper calls, the Cicada makes answer; the beating of its wings is as the tinkling of bells. Their fellowship delights thee O lovely goddess!

Lo! it is twilight and the cattle at pasture are dim; and after the woodman's dwelling is scarce seen. Dost thou now begin to roam in thy dark car? In the dark the call of the cowherd to his kine echoes loud; the stroke of the wood-cutter rings out; and the forest dweller imagines thy shrill cry in the stillness.

Gracious art thou Aranyani; for thou givest abundance of sweet fruit to man and in thy borders there is no need of tillage.

Thou art the mother of wild beasts, but to thy worshippers they do no harm.

Freely may we pass thy boundaries and eat of thy gifts; and thereafter rest at nightfall; and about us thou sheddest rich odours of balm.”

Under the shady trees of the Himalayan forests the Aranyakas were composed. They are called Aranyakas or forest chapters. They include the Upanishads.

“From the Unreal lead me to the Real
From the darkness lead me to light
From death lead me to immortality.”

says the Upanished.

Their education was not like the soul-killing; English education now imparted to Indian youths, every moment troubled with anxiety for the impending result of the examination. As the morning breeze wafted over the tender leaves and blossomed flowers on trees, their soul burst in raptures of melodious song. Thus were sung the sublime hymns of the Vedas containing the history of the religious, political, economic and social institutions of the Aryans. That was the golden period of the Indian History to which every Indian looks with national pride. In arts, science, industry, philosophy, military organisation, weapons of destruction, medicine and all other kindred intellectual pursuits, the Aryan mind showed its wonderful vivacity and never left anything untouched. In logic and knowledge of the inner secrets of human life they are unequalled by any of the races of the world. Yoga science was the sole monopoly of the Aryans. With all his education the Aryan was strong, robust and masculine. The graduate of our modern universities is in body imbecile, in courage contemptible, in nature cringing and in action indifferent, whereas the mind of the Aryan was directed to bring out everything praiseworthy out of man. There was no rule that particular classes alone should study particular arts. Brahmins like Agastimuni, Agniवेश्या, Drona, Aswat-dhama, Kripacharya took to archery and fighting, while Kshatrias like Janaka, Bhishma, Rasabhadeo's nine sons, Vam-

deo, Viswamitra, Priyamedha took to philosophic meditation and developed philosophy known as Rajavidya. The Brahmin Rishi Balaki learnt philosophy from Ajatasatru, the Rajah of Kashi. A free, liberal and universal education was within the easy reach of Aryan youths. In the Ramayana it is stated that in the reign of Dasaratha every person could read and write. Whether this idea be accurate or not the idea of wide-spread elementary education is clearly familiar to Valmiki, the author of the great epic and such education was imparted in schools under shades of trees or in verandahs. Adult education was carried on by the recitations of wandering sanyasins round whom groups gathered at eventide under the village tree. There was no monopoly of learning in those early times. Rajas and Brahmans sat at the feet of each other to learn wisdom.

FOREIGN TRAVEL.

There are records to show that India traded with Babylon in 3000 B. C. Mummies in Egyptian tombs 2000 B. C. were wrapped in finest Indian muslin. In the 10th century B. C. the ivory of Solomon's throne, his precious stones and peacocks and the sandal wood pillars of his temple have been ascribed by competent authorities to Indian origin. Hiram of Tyre traded with her 980 B. C. and Tamil names of her products are found in Hebrew scriptures. A large trade was carried on with Rome long before the Christian era and an embassy congratulated Augustus Caesar 20 B. C. and another went to Trajan 99 A. D. Traders of Southern India used to go to foreign land from the remotest periods of antiquity and amass wealth. The Dravidian poetess Auvai of olden times sang "Even by voyages over the wavy ocean gather wealth." There is no prohibition anywhere in the shastra prohibiting foreign travel.

Vasistha says (*Rigveda I, 116-3*) "When I and Varuna went on a ship into the middle of the ocean we rolled and swayed from side to side on the surface of the waving waters, as if we were on a joyous swing." He also says (*Rigveda VII, 88-3*) "I moved over the waters with other vessels. They were joyously swinging in that beautiful swing, this side and that side of the waves." Manus says "Whatever rates men fix, who are experts in sea voyages and able to calculate the profit according to the place, the time and the objects (carried), that has legal force in such cases with respect to the payment." Yagnavalkya (*Vyavahara Adhyaya 38 verse*) also gives directions as to the fixing of interest and so on to be paid in connection with sea-voyage and goods brought by merchants to India and from India; and you find special Shraddhas arranged in order to gain success in sea voyages. Sea voyage even expiates the sin of having killed a Brahmana. The people of Northern India went on sea-voyages very much more than the southern people.

In the epic times there were plenty of goods exchanged between India and foreign lands. Aryan India had colonies in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo and even in the countries of the further East as far as Japan. She had trading settlements in southern China, in the Malay Peninsula, in Arabia, and in all chief cities of Persia and all over the east coast of Africa. She cultivated trade relations not only with the countries of Asia, but also with the whole of the then known world, including the countries under the dominion of the Roman empire. In 75 A. D. the Hindus traversed the Bay of Bangal, crossed the Indian Ocean, reached Java, planted a colony, and spread over the country establishing trade with India. Dr. Buist says in his Notes on India about 1854, "From the looms of Dacca went forth those

wonderful tissues that adorned the noblest beauties of the Court of Augustus Caesar, bearing in the eternal city the same designation sixteen centuries ago as that by which cotton is still known in India."

WORSHIP.

The Aryans settled for a time on the western borders of India and dividing at a later period into two groups of patriarchal families, one of which went into Persia while the other occupied the Northern Indian plains. The earliest religious records of the former are found in the *Zend Avesta*; the earliest religious records of the latter are found in the Rig Veda. The religious conceptions in the two books are widely different. *Zendavesta* is the authority for the Parsis while Rig Veda is the authority for the Hindus. The Vedas contain hymns addressed to personifications of the powers of Nature. The person praised by the hymns is the Divine person manifested through one of his infinite functions in relation to nature and man. The Rig Veda says, "Ekam Sat"—He is one. "Vipra Bahuda Vadanthi"—The sages describe him in various ways. The central teaching of the Upanishads is "Ekameva advitiyam Brahma"—There is one without a second. The various names suggestive of God's powers are but the qualifications of one divine person. The Aryans invoked these powers to give them material prosperity and to aid them in their struggle against aborigines. The accepted way of propitiating the Gods and of obtaining desired boons was the way of libation and sacrifice. The Rig Veda says "He is one. They call Him Indra, Agni Varuna." The Aryan mind leaned more to the philosophic and the impersonal aspect of God but the ethical and personal aspect was not ignored. Their system of worship consists of four ways, the Gnana, the Yoga, the Bhakti

and the Karma Margas. The Grana insisted more on the philosophic and impersonal aspect of God and the other three insisted on the ethical and personal. Upanishads and Raja Vidya (Sovereign science) deal with the relation of the human soul to Divinity. The essence of the the Universe is the one Absolute Being (Brahma) who can be described by negations. This is also called the Supreme Self (Paramatma) and the human self is indential with the Supreme Self. The realisation of this identity is salvation or Moksha. The doctrines of Reincarnation (Samsara) and Karma are postulated in the Upanishads.

The doctrine of Samsara describes the individual self as a solitary pilgrim wandering through many stages of existence before it reaches it final goal (Nirvana). There is the sacredness of all animal life, for an animal also is the dwelling place of soul. All action (Karma) bears fruit. Each rebirth is a resultant of the works done in previous existence. In origin this doctrine is the sequel and complement of doctrine of Transmigration (Samsara). The Aryan Rishis declared that all individual and national progress lies in adherence to truth and duty. The ten indications of Dharma as stated by Manu were fortitude, compassion, control of the mind and the organs of sense, purity, intelligence, study of the Shastras, rectitude of behaviour, absence of anger, meditation and charity. The ethical element was as strong as the ritual element in religion.

ASSIMILATION.

Before the Aryans occupied the whole of India there were also other people known as Non-Aryans. Many of the Non-Aryans were assimilated into the Aryan society. There were inter-marriages among Brahmins and other people. Rishis, who were born in Royal houses

or were Raja Rishis became by their sanctity and devotion entitled to be called Brahma Rishis. One Priyamedha was so elevated, Shiri, Garga and Traiyaruni were also elevated to the status of Brahma Rishis. Also Mudgala and Gritsmada who were kings before became Brahmins. The Brahmins felt no scruple in learning the Dhanurveda or archery. The great Dhanurvedi Agusti Muni conquered the Non-Aryan kings Kvala and Kalakeyas who were pirates on the sea coast. Agnivesya was also noted for his skill in archery and he was the teacher of Dronacharya, himself a great Brahmin commander in the wars of Mahabharata. His son Aswathama and brother-in-law Kripacharya were similarly renowned. In the Vedas the names of Vasishtha and Viswamitra are found. The former was a great exponent of Brahman orthodoxy and was against the assimilation of Non-Aryans into the Aryan folds, whereas Viswamitra represented the view of those who wanted to admit them and sought to elevate them. Vasishtha had unjustly condemned Trisanku to be a Chandala while Viswamitra took up his cause and Trisanku was accepted in heaven notwithstanding the curse of Vasishtha. The result of the conflict between Vasishtha and Viswamitra was a complete victory for the latter. Later on India was subjected to a series of invasions from the Greeks, the Huns, the Goths, the ancestors of Jats, the Scythians, the Turcomans and the Mongols and those people who stayed behind after the conquering hordes left their borders were assimilated into the Aryan fold and they all constitute the Hindus of to-day.

Thus was the glory of the ancient Aryans who could guard the honour of their hearth and home and preserve their national independence against all odds. India was in the eyes of the then civilised world a formidable nation able to withstand any aggressive attack

from their foreign neighbours. When the Arabs first invaded India the symptoms of degeneracy already set in and it was with great difficulty that they could ward off the first invasion. Even then they could not rise to the occasion and put their house in order. The road to national greatness is steep and thorny whereas to national degradation is sloping and smooth. The Hindu chose the latter road and when the second Arab invasion occurred he fell an easy prey to the conquering hordes of the Arab. Thenceforward the Hindu gradually lost his love of independence and the Hindu society was so disorganised and disintegrated that the Hindu welcomed even foreign rule. The idolatrous and caste-ridden Hindus were no match to the iconoclastic and casteless Turks. It may strike surprise in the heart of the reader how such a noble Aryan had fallen so low in his own estimation and in that of the world. Why the rigidity of the caste and the creation of a fifth class, the Chandalas, the ignorance of man and woman, the early marriages, the enforced widowhood, prohibition of foreign travel, and the degradation of woman. Idolatry and the restrictions on assimilation of others into Hindu fold came to be regarded as virtues by the fallen Hindus. It is when the Hindus began to look on the vices as virtues that Malikamber with a lakh of soldiers could within a few months conquer the whole of India as far as Rameswaram unopposed. The Hindu who bowed before images of stone and bronze and who was terribly afraid of their supernatural powers is not the man who could oppose the zealous Turk, who bends his head before none else but the great Almighty whom he calls Allah. The wealth of the Hindu was invested in the gorgeous insanitary buildings called temples and in jewellery to the images with which he played almost every day in performing festivals and carry-

ing every day throughout the streets. The art, the philosophy, the learning, the sturdy love of independance in the Aryan decayed and the Hindu dwarf was substituted for the Aryan giant.

THE BUDDHISTS.

Before the fall of the Aryan is traced it is necessary for us to study the changes which Buddhism and Jainism brought about in the Aryan society. These religions were a kind of protestant reformation within Hinduism leading to the rejection of Brahman sacerdotal supremacy and breaking down the rigid barriers of caste. But the great havoc done to the society by these religions is the development of asceticism. Their noblest feature is the scrupulous avoidance of any destruction of animal life. They left out of their teaching the personal and ethical aspect of God altogether. They never entertained any idea that there is One Eternal God, the Guide and Ruler of the Universe. They entertained very pessimistic ideas of human life. Renunciation of desire is the keynote of Buddhistic teaching. The Jutakas are the Buddhistic scriptures. The Aryans entertained noble ideas about human existence. They stated "Sareeram Khalu Dharma Sadhanam." Body is necessary to observe Dharma and so it should not be neglected. But during this period a sort of pseudo-Vairagya began to develop in India cutting at the very fountain of all stimulus for noble action. People began to think of transitoriness of life and its sojourn in this world to suffer while its permanent abode is elsewhere. Caste continued its existence all through the Buddhist period though within the Buddhist mendicant orders no caste restrictions were observed. Before Buddhism became extinct the Aryans were strongly influenced by the ideas of transmigration and the idea of

sanctity of animal life. The Buddhistic monastery was a common feature of those days. When the monks failed to be the inspiring preachers of their faith they instituted the images of Buddha. Thus idol worship also grew stronger in the Buddhistic period (400 B. C.—250 A. D.) The worship of living animals as the cow and the dog developed as a practical demonstration of the ideas of sanctity of animal life. Beef-eating was henceforward tabooed and the cow began to be worshipped everywhere. As the people grew pessimistic of life they never cared for things mundane and their social and political progress was in the decadent. They also neglected the welfare of the family and consequently the degradation of women and their indifference to children. Men and women have fallen very low and the consequence was when the conquering hordes poured forth from the northern borders of the Himalayas into the plains below, they were unable to withstand them. These hill-men were less civilised than the people of the plains but they were more warlike and so they conquered the whole country and intermarried with the people and spread over the length and breadth of India. The Aryan civilisation lost its vigour and became mixed with that of the barbarians and thenceforward the fall of the Aryan and the rise of the new people, the mixture of the barbarian and the Aryan known as the Hindu.

THE AFTER EFFECTS OF THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM.

The philosophic and impersonal aspect of the Aryan religion gave way and the personal aspect developed to such an extra-ordinary degree that in every street, in every village, a living, speaking and punishing deity arose. Animal sacrifices and sometimes human sacrifices also

were offered to propitiate the goddess who is described as blood-thirsty.

To support the sanctity of these goddesses some scriptures came into existence known as the Puranas. The ten Avatars of Vishnu became popularised. The God Radra in the Vedas was identified with Non-Aryan God Shiva. A whole pantheon of Gods and Goddesses was created with Gods of different animal heads like that of the elephant, the snake, the lion, the boar, the ape, the tortoise and the fish. The religion of the Upanishads gave place to fetish worship. Pantheism and polytheism became the fashion of the day. By the time, Buddhism became a dead religion in India, the people were ignorant and their only heritage was that they were the descendants of the great Aryan Rishis who sang the Vedas and the Upanishads. The great Hindu teacher Sankaracharya who was himself an ascetic, began to extirpate Buddhism and restore the philosophic way of thinking about the impersonal God. His teachings were mainly directed against the religious superstitions while social progress was completely neglected by him, for he was an ascetic and never cared for family life. Asceticism grew all the more virulent and a general apathy for the material concerns of life prevailed and large Mutts or monasteries were built for accommodating the ascetics. The four orders of the ascetics established by him are as follows:—

ASCETIC ORDERS.

We have among us about 3 million of devotees and ascetics who are divided into Gosains, Bairagis, Vaishnavas and Dandis. The word Goswami is derived from Go (passion) and Swami (master) and is indicative of one who has mastered his passion. The founder of the

sect is Sree Sankaracharya of the order. Accordingly the God Siva is worshipped by the Gosains as distinguished from the Bairagis who worship Vishnu. Sankaracharya initiated four disciples who in their turn nominated their own disciples giving rise in all to 10 sects. (1) Neera Troteekacharya who nominated 3 disciples; (a) Giree (b) Sagara (c) Purwat (2) Sringarshi Prithvi Oodhwacharya; (a) Puree (b) Saraswati (c) Bharatee (3) Dharmabhuti Swarupacharya; (a) Teertha (b) Asrama and, (4) Padmacharya (a) Vana (b) Aranya. The four disciples established four mutts. In process of time the original ideal with which the sect was started was abandoned and some of the disciples followed trade, some entered into matrimonial alliances, while others adopted the profession of arms. The Gosaweas who still adhere to the ancient ideals of the order are called Dandis or pilgrims carrying a staff. The Denglees are those who trade. The Ghurbharees are those who are married and who no longer follow the laws of their orders. The Gosaweas dwell in Mutts and they are governed by the Dharma and Manava sastras. All questions relating to internal administration and discipline of the order are decided by an assembly of ten or Dusname. The Bairagis are of 6 sects. They have also taken to married life and are proving false to their name, for "Viragi" means one who has renounced the world.

THE SCYTHIANS, TARTARS, HUNS, GOTHS AND MONGOLIANS.

All these races poured forth into India conquering before them the inhabitants in Northern India and being less advanced in civilisation than the conquered, mingled among them and lost their individualities. Their customs and religious conceptions need not be described, for they are no longer in existence, being given up by them. They

adjusted themselves to the social environment in which they happened to live.

THE HINDUS.

After Buddhism and Jainism lost their hold on the popular mind, the social institutions had become exclusive, stereotyped and inflexible, stagnation began to set in and the people fell from the highest pinnacle of glory into the lowest slough of degradation and fell victims before the conquering hordes of the foreigner. The old martial valour gave way to slave-mentality, the hardihood of the Aryan became the docility of the Hindu. The solidarity of the Aryan nation transformed itself into the pugnacity among the various castes.

RIGIDITY OF CASTE.

From the epics we clearly see that originally there were no castes and "The whole world consisted of Brahmins Created equally by Brahma, men have, in consequence of their acts, became distributed into different orders. Those who became fond of indulging their desires and were addicted to pleasure and were of a severe and wrathful disposition, endowed with courage and unmindful of piety and worship—those Brahmins possessing the attributes of Rajas (passion) became Kshatriyas. Those Brahmins, again, who, without attending to the duties laid down for them became possessed of the attributes of goodness (Satwa) and passion and took to the practice of rearing of cattle and agriculture became Vaisyas. Those Brahmins, again, who were addicted to untruth and injuring others and engaged in impure acts and had fallen from purity of behaviour on account of possessing the attribute of darkness (Tamas) became Sudras. Separated by occupation Brahmins became members of the other three orders." (Mahabharata—

Moksha Dharma—Chap. 1—88) “Neither birth, nor study, nor learning constitutes Brahmanhood. Character alone constitutes it.” (Mahabharata, Vanaparva, chap. 313, verse 108). Priestly influence, geographical division, functional separation, sociological ignorance, popular superstition, sectarian marriages, rigid vegetarianism, exclusive dining, Chandala uncleanness, national exclusiveness, racial pride, administrative incapacity, foreign domination, religious bigotry, primitive stupidity, tribal rivalry and what not contributed to the cutting of Hindu society into innumerable fragments, nay particles, which could be blown away by every breeze of foreign invasion. Alburni, the Muhammadan historian says that they were blown away like particles of dust. The mediæval Hindu is the skeleton of the ancient Aryan whose life and flesh had been disintegrated. The various sub-castes arose on account of intercourse between caste and caste. The devil of excommunication played a very large part in tearing society asunder and creating huge walls between caste and caste, sect and sect. The completely degraded classes were the Chandalas who are the helots of Hindu society.

DEGRADATION OF WOMEN.

Even in Epic times the position of woman as equal of man was not denied. In the puranic period their degradation was complete. The pride of Brahmanism and the influence of the priests—whose authority became more and more firmly established and who denied to women as well as the lower castes all the learning of the times with the object of perpetuating their sway—were the chief causes of the degradation of women. The imitation of purdah from the Mahammadans made women actually prisoners in their own homes. Loss of political power made men slaves. They in their turn enslaved women. Natu-

rally women were more conservative than men, more readily submissive to habit and more conscious and afraid of changes. They habituated themselves to any position which men assigned to them.

EARLY MARRIAGES.

As the Hindus lost their political independence and as they were afraid of being wiped out of the face of the earth as a separate nationality and as there appeared a danger that they might lose their distinctive traits of individuality to keep their blood pure, to save themselves from being lost in the hordes of aborigines, various lines of action were adopted. When tribes began to fight with each other and when foreigners invaded India the father, to preserve the girl, married her early so that she may have a second protector if the father should be slain. Tracing early marriages to their real source, after India became very largely a prey to foreign invasions, the father, in a time of war and tumult, desired to gain for his daughter another protector, one to whom she would have a right to turn if the father's home were broken up or raided. The other reason was the gradual lowering of status of Hindu women and also the gradual decrease of her education. As she lost her position of social and civic equality, as her education became more neglected and her faculties were not trained, inevitably she sank to a lower position and was no longer looked upon as the equal of man. She was compelled to marry early so that she might get some one to support her.

ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD.

After the Mahabharata war when most of the warriors and able-bodied males perished on the battle

field of Kurukshetra, the chances of maids getting married became rare and so widows who had had a chance of enjoying married life restrained themselves from remarrying. It became a custom in a course of years and verses were interpolated in ancient religious books and women were prohibited from marrying again. The degradation of women and their illiteracy brought them under priestly control. The priests took pride in the injunctions they imposed on them. The ascetic life which Buddhism introduced into the society made men and women think of the joys and pleasures of life as ephemeral and that their permanent abode is in heaven and this life is transitory and man had come here for a short sojourn to suffer for the wrongs he committed in previous births. Thus the body was neglected and consequently the pleasures attached to it. When asceticism had become the fashion, disfigurement of widows and severe austerities restricting their food and raiment, were adopted and young windows were forced by the authority of custom to remain unmarried.

ILLITERACY.

Women used to receive as liberal an education as men. Gradually, however, the importance was lessened and about the time when dramatic literature arose we find that as a class they were not taught sanskrit though they could read and write in the popular languages and even compose poetry in them. Even so late as 11th century, women were not condemned to exclusion and were taught scientific music as appears from a copper plate inscription in which one of the wives of the king of the Deccan is represented to have sung a beautiful song in an assembly composed of the highest officers of that and the surrounding kingdoms and to have obtained as a reward the consent of her husband to give land in

charity to Brahmins. The seclusion of women and their ignorance is a custom that came into vogue in later times and the loss of the political power by the Hindus aggravated their situation. Custom is a god whom Hindus worship and religious sanction was accorded to these customs by interpolating verses in later books. The moral sentiments were very weak and they could not come out of the thick veil of custom and assert the claim of truth, justice and humanity. Custom has been and is our authority and custom is our religion. The Brahmins after they were overpowered by aboriginal customs and accepted the priestly offices and became Purohits, the earnings of their profession tempted them and it became a custom that all ceremonies, sacrifices and temple worship must be conducted by Brahmins alone. They monopolised the learning and the people were kept in ignorance of what the Vedas contain. Thus the Vydikas became the sole repositories of Vedic lore and common men gradually fell into the slough of ignorance. Men, to perpetuate the subjection of women, kept them also ignorant. Thus men and women sank into ignorance.

PROHIBITION OF FOREIGN TRAVEL.

As Aryan civilisation became stationary and after a time it began to take a retrogressive and downward course, people lost their spirit of enterprise and became exclusive. After the wave of foreign invasion settled itself and the conqueror became as timid as the conquered, the militant type of society revived. The larger Hindu States were split up into smaller Kingdoms and principalities. Feudal institutions came into existence. Tribal jealousies and sectarian hatred became the order of the day. A selfish priesthood imposed its yoke upon the neck of the people. Custom fixed and stereotyped the course of national life,

Caste system elaborated its net in the meshes of which were caught the elements of progress and advancement. Unfortunately all this took place at a time when people were feeling the need to unite themselves again and caste spirit was losing its importance. While other nations were entertaining ideas which have through a long course of centuries fashioned and perfected what is called modern civilisation, the Hindus locked themselves up within the four corners of India, cut off all foreign intercourse by interdicting foreign travel, and instead of profiting by what men were doing in other parts of the globe began to forget and finally did forget what they themselves had done in former days, because knowledge became the monopoly of a special class. The political life was sapped by the extending sway of ecclesiastical pretensions, and the seeds of racial and sectarian animosities were sown which corroded the society from within and made them fall a prey to invasions from without. India lost her zeal for intellectual pursuits and love of political independence. Despotism in state crushed the political spirit of the people. Despotism in religion had enslaved their intellect. Wants were simplified and society was swayed by an ascetic system of morality and caste by tying down everybody to his hereditary status, paralysed the zeal for individual effort and destroyed the feeling of the dignity of manhood. Foreign intercourse was not encouraged by the state which was unstable and despotic nor by the society which was priest-ridden and conservative. The passion for travelling was absent because neither intellectual unrest nor political ambition dominated their minds.

IDOLATRY.

The glory and chivalry of the Aryan disappeared and the worship of the One God gave way to ghost and

demon worship and idolatry became rampant everywhere. The Buddhists used to keep images of Buddha in their monasteries and the Hindus imitated them in the days of Buddhistic glory. Thus the pure worship of the Aryans degenerated into idolatrous worship of the Hindus. As the Aryan culture received a set-back the study of the Vedas and the Upanishads was neglected and people fell a prey to gross superstition. Human sacrifices also were offered to propitiate the gods and goddesses. In the Puranic period a glorious mythology was borrowed and engrafted to the Aryan religion. Added to these there were the foreign invasions of the Scythians, the Huns and the Goths, the ancestors of Jats, who crushed the last remnants of Aryan civilisation and introduced the many inhuman customs so widely prevalent in Northern India.

The Aryan settlers in the Deccan were too few in numbers and too weak in power to make any lasting impression beyond their own limited circle upon the vast multitudes who constituted the aboriginal races. The Puranas written at that time display the pusillanimity of the Aryan settlers. Moreover Buddhistic power was paramount in Andhra Desa. When Hinduism revived from the depression into which it had fallen on account of the rise of Buddhism it lost its old pristine purity and became corrupted by the idolatrous worship of the Buddhists. In their anxiety to destroy Buddhism, Brahmins allied themselves with the aborigines and incorporated many of their social and religious institutions into their society. From being sages and philosophers, poets and prophets, they descended to the lower level of priests and purohits and thus sacrificed their independence for power and profit. The gods and goddesses of the aborigines were identified with God as so many incarnations. Brahmins became the priests and Archakas. Brahminism having failed to

conquer from want of power, allowed itself to be degraded and being unable to civilise them failed in its mission and ultimately effected a compromise with the culture of the aborigines. The priests and Archakas in their own interests magnified the old superstitious beliefs. The Puranas were regarded as a fifth Veda for most of them failed to understand the four Vedas. Even the iconoclastic spirit of Islam could not divert them from the fetish worship and the most debasing worship of the sexual organs of man and the ape.

EXCLUSIVENESS.

After the Hindus lost their political independence they became so contemptuous in the eyes of their conquerors that no-body ever thought of having social dealings with them till the time of Akbar who was the first Mussalman emperor who extended his hand of fellowship to the conquered and subjugated Hindus. During these five centuries of their political degradation their instinct of self-preservation developed a sort of exclusiveness peculiar to themselves and the rigidity of caste went a long way in making the Hindus an exclusive people. This peculiar social system worked well enough so long as they were an independent and self-contained community but it could not adapt itself to fresh environments as they rose and could not promote social solidarity. The high level of material prosperity which the nation was able to reach on account of favourable physical conditions soon resulted in effeminacy of character, a result which came about all the more easily by the aversion of the people to material advantages, naturally induced by their spiritual ideas. The military defence of the country against external or internal dangers was neglected, the Hindus being evidently under the belief that outside India there were no people capable of invad-

ing her and establishing a foreign rule subversive of their own religion and civilisation. Dependence on outside help benumbs the inner conscience. If man begins to quote the scripture for everything he loses his individuality and relies on the text. His reasoning faculty becomes blunted and he lives in the happy idea that the ancients had done all the thinking for him and he is only to blindly follow their sutras. For him duties and obligations are duties and obligations, not because he felt them to be so, but somebody reputed to be wise had laid it down that they were so. It is no wonder that his mind is a *tabula rosa* and all that should be done for all world to come was already thought of and ready-made in laws and regulations dictated to him by his priests and any violation would result in excommunication. Heredity and birth are the guiding factors of his social and political life, no less than in religious and economic life. Fatalism and the law of Karma completed his degradation.

THE ARABS.

The Arabs are Muhammadans. They are the type of a democratic brotherhood for there are no caste institutions in their community. Their religion is monotheism. Adultery is forbidden but concubinage of conquered women was allowed. Their social arrangement is indissolubly bound up with politics and religion. Their conception of state is a socio-religious polity. A study of the Old Testament shows us that no other theory than a socio-religious polity ever occurred to the minds of all of the prophets and other sacred writers. To Issiah for example, the social, religious and political position of Zion were the three aspects of the same thing—Jehova's election of the Israelites as his chosen people. It was only the shock of the Babylonian captivity that compelled the beginning of the reconsidera-

tion of this theory which nevertheless reigned even through centuries of Judah's weakness and prostration. Polygamy is prevalent among them. The size of a man's harem is a proof of his importance. Even the practice of servile and captive concubinage is tolerated by them for it settles the fortunes of many homeless women. In the case of the conqueror his fame as such could not be marked unless he took the noblest and the most beautiful for himself. It is why we find later on that the Turk Allauddin in whom this Arab sentiment was predominant claimed the fair and lotus-eyed Padmini for himself though she was the wife of the Rana of Chittoor. They are greatly zealous, brave, skilful and dauntless. They are iconoclasts.

When Muhammad conquered Mecca in January, 630 A. D., he proceeded to the Kaaba, reverently saluting with his staff one by one, the numerous idols placed around. He commanded that they should be hewn down. The great image of Hobal, reared as the tutelary deity of Mecca in front of the Kaaba, shared the common fate. "Truth hath come" exclaimed Muhammad, as it fell with a crash to the ground, "and falsehood hath vanished; for falsehood is evanescent." That was the proudest day in the history of Arabia, nay of humanity, when man could boldly raise his voice and condemn the nefarious system of idolatry. Mecca is undoubtedly a sacred place of pilgrimage, for there the Arab for the first time in the history of humanity had shown that idolatry is a curse among mankind. Assimilation and conversion are very common among the Muhammadans. Nay, it is the strength of Islam. The greatness of the Arab lies in his zeal to make the whole world adopt what he believes to be true. "Never compromise with evil" is the spirit of Muhammad. It is this spirit that made the Muhammadan the terror of the

erring humanity and his sword flashed even at the gates of Vienna.

What, then, are the causes which led them to victory in early days? The first cause is their burning zeal in the new faith. It had made these sons of the desert feel that they were a nation chosen by God to establish this new faith in this world. The primary impulse was given by a zeal for a living Deity. After the first momentum had been acquired all sorts of secondary and very material motives were found necessary to sustain it. The warlike operations were directed with an unflinching self-devotion and an uncorrupt sense of duty. There were many warriors in the battle front moved with an enthusiasm typical of the Puritan and the Cromwellian ironside. There were similar enthusiasts even at the headquarters at Medina. But however purely burned the zeal for God and His cause in the hearts of Muslims it is the Arab passion for war, spoil, captives, concubines and forfeit lands that brought success in the early stages of Arab expansion.

We see, besides the religious zeal for God, and the political zeal for plunder and slaves, there is the civil aspect, the quiet yet tremendous power Islam brought to bear after the settlement of a country by the mere fact of its being a settled social system. The institutions of the Muslims were characterised by a very large measure of good sense and humanity, and justice was frequently well administered. Hindus and Christians who refused to become Muslims paid tribute and received in return the protection of the Islamic state. So popular was this arrangement that Christian subjects of Islam were in those days not infrequently the objects of envy and Muslim rulers frequently received appeals from Christians pleading to be transferred from Christian rule to that of

Islam. And although the diminution of the number of Christian tributaries by conversion involved a financial loss to the state, more than one Muslim ruler showed a genuine religious earnestness by refusing to prefer a fat revenue to the salvation of souls. Considerable administrative ability, too, was shown by Arab rulers. Again, the Arab being a man of great attainment and culture on his own lines, and proving extraordinarily teachable and receptive in mundane matters, welcomed the teaching which Greek and Persian could so feely give him in philosophy, letters, arts and crafts; and the indubitably brilliant civilisation he thus created, especially at Bagdad, Cairo and Cordova, at a time when Christian Europe was in a state of blank ignorance and darkness and when Hindu India was engaged in offering human beings as sacrifices to propitiate the gods, attracted many from outside to adopt Islam and become as great as the Arab. Moreover socially the democratic brotherhood and the laxity of marriage laws induced many people to embrace Islam. Lastly, the survival of the fittest theory also holds in religion. In India religious interest was fritted away in interminable wranglings about infinitesimal points of metaphysical theology, whilst real faith waxed cold and a burning hatred of sect for sect appeared and the rigidity of caste dismembered the Hindu society into various fragments with no sympathy with each other. There was internal warfare among the petty kingdoms also, that, when the Arab came, the one would openly exult when the other was smitten or would even co-operate with the invader in defeating his neighbour.

THE TURKS.

Before the Turks came to India some Turks from Turkeystan founded a kingdom with Bokhara as its capital and conquered Afghanistan and Beluchistan. Muham-

med of Ghazini invaded India in 1019 A. D. with a ferocious host. After two centuries, Delhi became the Muslim capital in 1206. A second sultanate was formed in Bengal and Bihar by Bakhtiyar Khan (1206-1288.) It is only under the Turkish rule that Indians came to know something of Islam. The unshakable belief in the unity of God is the central tenet of Islam. The Creator and the created are utterly distinct. The Creature had been brought into existence by the divine word Be. Naked of power he came into existence and naked of power he stands before the One and the Only Powerful One and the All-powerful One, in things great or in things small.

Man's deed, character and faith are determined by an irresistible decree of God. By the power of the same irresistible decree he joins the ranks of the believers or of the unbelievers, so by its power he is numbered among the saved in the Garden of Delights or the damned in the burning fire. Allah is not to be questioned for what He does. He is "responsible" to no one; for to conceive of him as having to answer for any of his actions or decrees would be to invest the creature with a certain right or power as against Him, and so limit His omnipotence which is impossible. In short, to set any limit whatsoever to the absolute, the unmitigated omnipotence of God was to Muhammad, as to every Muslim, a simple blasphemy. There are ninety-nine names deduced from the epithets used of Allah in the Qur'an: "Yet the ideas of gentleness and kindness are certainly not absent from the Kor'an. Every Muhammadan who says his rosary calls God "The Merciful," "The Compassionate," "The Forgiver," "The Clement," "The Guardian," "The Loving," "The Acceptor of Repentance," "The Pardoner," "The King," "The Patient." These gentler attributes are men-

tioned again and again. Muhammad was never tired of telling his followers that the love of God for man was more tender than that of a mother bird for its young. Still although there is the recognition of the loving kindness of God, it is true to say generally that the predominating thought in the mind of a Muhammadan is that of the power of God—The Mahammadan call to prayer is “Allah O’ Akbar”—“God is Great.”

A faith in a living God that wills and acts is indeed a vitally necessary thing in religion. Indeed, how morally right and necessary it was that men in the living heat of this conviction should have put to shame and to flight men in whom this conviction was a thing of name and not of reality! This faith is only efficacious and constructive when it is in ebullition. At other times it sinks to a dead fatalism which instead of goading to action, paralyses it. Another noble feature of Islam is the dignity with which it invests the believer who, though a slave, has a right of access to the Lord. The calm dignity of a Muslim at prayer is ever a striking and even a moving sight. And the stately bearing of the well dressed Muslim has at all times excited the admiration of beholders. The Hindu temple is open only to the Hindus while the Mosque is for all. What a contrast is it with the noble brotherhood of Islam! Look at the *Idaga*! How simple it is! How grand is the sight on a Bakried day when all Muslims irrespective of authority or wealth come and pray to God! A wall is built opposite to them so that their sight might not be distracted. How picturesque is the mosque! How stately is its architecture! How beautiful to look at! Hindu temple worship had failed to instil in the mind of man the universality of Divine love over all men equally and had failed to vindicate the justice in His impartiality to man. It has created

differences between man and man on the basis of birth. Every Hindu cannot claim the equal rights in the worship of the Divine Father, the Maker of them all. How narrow and circumscribed is the spiritual vision of the Hindu even in the worship of God! The Christian churches do not prohibit men from entering their aisles nor do Muhammadans object others entering their mosques.

ESCHATOLOGY OF ISLAM.

The eschatology (i. e.) the relation between God and man in Islam consists in an infinite descending series of grades of spiritual beings thus connecting, at last, God and man. Muhammadans have gone a little way in that direction by the importance they attach to the doctrine of angelic hierarchy, the chamberlains of the heavenly Monarch and by their explicit belief in regularly organised hosts of Jinns—demi-supernatural beings of uncertain spiritual temper and spiritual location. Belief in these beings is obligatory, for they prominently occur in the Qur'an, and charms for the evasion of the more malign influences of the intervening spiritual world are also mentioned in the Qur'an.

SAINT WORSHIP.

There is also often found in even orthodox Islam a system of what is practically called Saint-worship. The spirits of great saints are vaguely supposed to linger about their tombs, their intercession is continually claimed with God, and their protective powers are ardently invoked. They generally hang teeth, bits of rag or other souvenirs, to keep the owners thereof before the exalted mind of the saint.

RELIC WORSHIP.

Muslims pray at the shrine in which some bones of the prophet are preserved. The men of Cairo flock

together to touch the carpet that is sent annually to Mecca to cover the Kaaba for the blessing that it communicates. After it is finished with, fragments and scraps of it become relics, blessing the very house in which they are stored.

All these practices and engrafted acts of devotion are condemned by modern reformers of the 'Abdul Wahha'b or Puritan type and such men indignantly assert that they are a corruption of Islam. But orthodox example and Qur'anic precept can generally be found for them. The whole system of Walis is defended on the score of one text in the Qur'an. Islam divides religion into two parts. Imam:—Belief—all that has to do with creed. Din:—Practice—all that has to do with religious duty.

DIN.

Four duties are prescribed compulsarily for every Musalman:—(1) Prayer at stated times after the prescribed form, language and manner and preceded by the prescribed purifications and ablutions. (2) Alms-giving according to well-defined rules. (3) Fasting—total abstention from sunrise to sunset during the month of Ramz'an. (4) The Pilgrimage to Mecca. The holy war is accepted by some doctors as a fifth obligation but its stringency is in any case discounted by a host of "considerations." Statutes define the limits of his actions. But the statutes are limited and every ruler has found himself compelled to add to this Shariat or sacred law and to place alongside of it a body of administrative decrees (i. e.) civil law. But the strict Muslim in his heart of hearts thinks that Shariat is sufficient or ought to be made so and that these man-made institutions are Kufr or unbelief.

The Turks, when they came to India, brought with them a large number of slaves. The earliest political

ideal of Islam was constitutional but the islamic rulers, unable to connect authority with duty and to dissociate it from irresponsible power, held despotic sway over the people. But the trend of the whole Muslim authority was democratic. Outside India the democratic brotherhood was prevalent. Caliph Umar told his subjects: "My brothers! I owe you several duties, and you have several rights over me. One of them is that you should see that I do not misuse the revenue; another that I may not adopt wrong measures in the assessment of the revenue; that I should increase your salaries; protect the frontiers; and that I should not involve you in unnecessary dangers. Whenever I err, you have a right to stop and take me to task. There is no caliphate without the consultation of the general body of Mussalmans." It was the characteristic feature of his career as a ruler. The emoluments of his office were just sufficient to enable him to keep body and soul together, and to cover his body with a shirt of rough, coarse cloth, with twelve patches in it; in fact, the total daily expenses of his household did not amount to more than a shilling. In the beginning he did not take anything from the Bait-ul-Mal (Treasury), but later on he found that the duties of his office were interfered with by his private efforts to earn a livelihood for himself. He then put the question of his stipend in the hands of the "Majlis-I-Shura" (the representative body of councillors) as well as before the Mussalmans at large, congregated in the mosque for the Friday prayers, and it was decided that he should be given just as much as he required for his ordinary needs.

The degradation of women in Muslim countries is a great stumbling block in the advance of constitutional freedom. The matter of the family is fundamental. The responsibility of Islam for the state of woman and the degradation

of family life, is a matter about which there can be no doubt, for it goes directly back to the Qur'anic laws of marriage, divorce, polygamy and concubinage, and the consequent view of womanhood encouraged, nay, necessitated thereby. No doubt, Islam gives women power over their own property. But this aspect of freedom contrasts strangely with the chattel-like position which beyond all controversy Muslim women occupy in India. Like the Hindu woman an unmarried Muslim woman is a chattel in the hands of her father or brother and if married, in the hands of her husbands. Ghazzali, a great Muhammadan Doctor says "Marriage is a kind of slavery, for the wife becomes the slave of her husband, and it is her duty to obey him absolutely in everything he requires of her except in what is contrary to the laws of Islam." She is practically under tutelage for her whole term of life. Upto the time of Muhammad the Arabian women enjoyed a great deal of social freedom; her relationship with the other sex was healthier and franker than at present. Seclusion and the veil are explicitly commanded in the Qu'ran itself, yet the occasion of the fatal texts, which have fixed the fates of so many millions of women ever since, was nothing than the annoyance of the prophet when his domestic privacy had been slightly disturbed (Sura 33 and 24, Muir's Life of Muhammad). The whole tendency of polygamy, slave concubinage and unrestricted divorce shows that there is in the Muhammadan mind an unhealthy suspicion about women and it is the chief cause of their seclusion. The marriage bond is at the discretion of the husband to hold or break, and that any man can therefore look upon any married woman (relatives excepted) as within his reach by marriage, and any woman can be divorced at any time without any valid cause being assigned. Even such a great Queen as Raziya, daughter of Altamash

one of the slave kings at Delhi was maltreated by her subjects. Her brother was a wicked man and they installed her on the throne. Raziya ruled as few men ruled in Delhi. She loved justice and mercy and she gave both to her people. She led them to battle pitching her own tent in the midst of the greatest danger. She was generous and wise and entirely forgetful of her woman's self. All this her people knew of her; and all this historians have said of her. "She was a great monarch, but she was a woman, and she ruled as a man." The Muslims of those days could not forgive her. They say that she, being a woman, ought to come with face veiled. Though they lived under her care and protection for a very long time they forgot the cruelty of her brother who reigned before. They turned against her in the end and dethroned her and put her in prison. Later on she escaped from prison and led an army to regain her kingdom. She was defeated in battle and fled alone to the jungles. Hard pressed by hunger she begged of an old peasant in a field for some food. The man gave her a piece of bread which she ate gladly. While she was sleeping there the peasant killed her and buried her there in a corner of a field outside the walls of that very Delhi which she had ruled. Such was the treatment accorded to a queen simply because she was a woman but not a man. Polygamy and unrestricted divorce had taken away the vitality of the Turks. Some of the bitterest results that followed these customs are: divided families, favouritism, heart burnings, jealousies, separation from children, despair, cruelties, ruin to the character of man and the life of the woman. A man may divorce his wife without cause, save his own disappointment or whim; immediately after marriage—or, even worse, after many years of married life. Every divorce means a blow to the woman's self.

respect, a diminution of her market value, a cruel separation in many cases from her children.

Usury is denounced in the Qur'an and many a pious Muhammadan is prepared to renounce even the ordinary interest on his loans. The human directions of the Qur'an and the Traditions make many Muslims kind to animals. The flat prohibition of all liquor has made greatly for sobriety and the condemnation of games of chance had checked gambling. There is no priesthood among the Mussalmans. Muslim authorities say that there are now 150 sects, but there may be even more. I shall briefly narrate the origin and growth of principal ones. The Muslim world is broadly divided into Sunnis and Shi'ites. The latter are far more subdivided than are the Sunnis.

SHI-ITES.

The main point of difference is that, rejecting the first four khalifas, the Shi'ah sects hold that Ali, the fourth khalifa, Muhammad's son-in-law was the "Prophet's" due successor. Hence instead of regarding the khalifas as 'Vicegerents of the Apostle of God' they revere Ali's descendants, who with himself are termed the 'Twelve Imams.' The two parties differ also in the collections of Traditions (Aha'da'th) which they accept. The Sunnis condemn Mut'ah or temporary marriage, which their opponents approve of. The Sunnis hold that everything must be decided by an appeal to the Qur'an, Tradition, or authoritative deductions therefrom. They are more legalistic than the Shi'ites. The latter are more inclined to admit ideas from without. They admit the need of an atonement, holding that Hosan's and Husain's deaths effected that. Incarnation theories have developed among not a few Shi'ite sects. One of those worships 'Ali as God.' They

hold in general the tenet that they may conceal or deny their faith when life and property are otherwise in danger. Abu' Kasim, the 12th Imam, is said to be still alive, and is expected to reappear as the Imam Mahdi.

SUNNIS.

Of the Sunnis there are four orthodox sects, the Hanifis, the Sha'fis, the Ma'likis, and the Hanbalis, which are really schools of interpretation of the Law. The founder of the Wahabi sect was a Hanabali. He endeavoured to reform Islam by abolishing saint worship and restoring it to its original state. This necessitated the use of the sword. The Wahabis overran Arabia, capturing Mecca and Medina in 1803. Their power had been broken by the Turks in 1818. Later on there were revivals of sects in India and also in Arabia. They are not bound by the views of orthodox sects, but hold that each man may judge for himself from a knowledge of the Qur'an and Tradition. Muhammad will at the last day obtain permission to intercede with God. They recite the ninety-nine 'Excellant Names' without a rosary.

SUFIS.

The Sufis are the mystics of Islam. They are mostly professed Shi'ites but in reality they are Pantheists or free-thinkers. They profess to aim at union with God, to be attained by absorption and loss of personality. A stage in their spiritual progress may be reached at which all religious observances are needless. They profess to prove from Surah 23—151 "Verily we belong to God, and verily unto him do we return" their doctrine of emanation and absorption (Ifna) saying that this "return" to God is like that of the raindrop to the ocean from which it came and in which it is finally lost.

MUTAZILITES.

The Mutazilite sect was founded by Wa'sil in the 9th century. His followers denied the Muslim doctrine of Fate, and affirmed freedom of will and action. They were Muslims only in name. The Neo-Islamic school in India claims to be a revival of this extinct sect. They reject tradition, and profess to found their belief solely on the Qur'an. But they have been greatly influenced by Rationalism. They deny the miraculous, and are rather Deists than Muslims.

The Turks entertain regard for the rights of private property and for the rights of children, women and slaves. They are a people in whom the generous elements of the great pastoral peace of desert and steppe which is the living force and unity of the whole Moslem world are betrayed. They are very kind to their children who in their turn respect their parents. In inculcating the doctrine of devotion to the mother and chivalry to old age Muhammad is unequelled by any of the great teachers of the world. Muhammad said, "He who kisses the feet of his mother attains Paradise." Most of the Hindus, when Turks settled in India, were fascinated by the extraordinary kindness shown by these Mussalmans towards their fellow brethren. If represented to the low-caste Hindu what the Buddhist orders once represented, a perfect democracy in which stains of birth, blood, profession are all blotted out by a common brotherhood. Whatever a man's past, he could as soon as he became Muhammadan do whatever he desired. One of the Muhammadan Sultans, Khusum, was a low-caste Hindu. He was the companion of Mubarak, the son of Allaudin. Even slaves could become Sultans. The word Sheik is generally prefixed to the names of those who were converted to Islam. The vast majority of Mu-

hammadan cultivators, workers, coolies and others are thus Hindu by blood and Muslim by creed. These people follow their old Hindu customs and worship Pirs. Their idolatrous habits could not be changed. The orthodox Sunnis, though they dislike this, allow them to follow their own ways. The message of Muhammad is a message of freedom to the whole race of man. The early invaders did not settle in India continuously for a very long time. Dynasty after dynasty came to India, ruled for a short time and was dethroned by successor after successor who poured into the plains of Hindustan.

MONGOLS OR MOGHALS.

The 3rd great Islamic race that conquered India were the Moguls. Before Babar came and established the Mogul empire in India which lasted from 1526 to 1857 two Mogul invaders, Chengizkhan and Timurlane, invaded India in the 13th and 14th centuries and carried away all that was precious from India.

India was sunk in poverty, all the agriculturists were highly indebted, famine was everywhere, trade was paralysed and commerce was hindered. The darkest period of Indian history is the time when Babar invaded India. Baber describes India in his memoirs as follows:— "Hindustan is a country which has few things to recommend. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society or freely mixing together in familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manners, no kindness or fellow feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning and executing their handicraft work, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good horses, no good flesh, no good grapes or musk-melons, no

good fruits, no cold water or ice, no good food or bread in their bazaars, no baths, no colleges, no candles, not even a candle stick. They have no aqueducts or canals, no gardens and no palaces; in their buildings they study neither elegance nor climate, nor appearance nor regularity. Their peasants and lower classes all go about naked tying on only a langoti. The women too have only a lung." The only good points which Babar could find in favour of Hindusthan were that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver and there is also an abundance of workmen of every profession and trade for any work and employment." During the reigns of Babar and Humayun the Mahomedans adjusted themselves with their Hindu neighbours and Sufi heresy gathered strength from contact with Hindu teachers and made many Muhammadans believe in transmigration (Samsara) and in the final union of the soul with the Supreme Spirit. The Moharrum festival and saint worship show that the Muhammadans were greatly influenced by the Hindus. The Pir worship also came into vogue. The pure iconoclastic religion of Muhammed was transformed and transfigured into Pir worship. The Mummadans were more tolerant towards Hindus than under Turkish rule. By the time Akbar came to the throne the two races, the Aryans and the Mongols, began to appreciate each other and the great Akbar was the first Islamic Emperor in India to see and realise the true nobility of soul and the devotion and fidelity of the Hindu character. He gathered about him the best men of his time men like Faizi, Abdul Fazel and their father Mubarak, the historians Mirza Abdul Rahim, Nizamuddin Ahmed, Bodami and others. These translated the Hindu epics and shastras and books of science and philosophy. He entertained many Rajaputs in high offices and married their daughters, Raja Todamral, Raja Birbal,

a companion of Akbar, Maharaja Bhagavandas, Raja Mansingh who acted as Governor of Bengal and sometime for Kabul were welcomed to court and trusted in the full consciousness that their interests were the same as those of the Mussalman noblemen. Akbar wanted to cement the union of Hindus and Mussalmans by the establishment of a religion of the Din-i-ilahi in which the best points both of the Hindu and Muhammadan faiths were sought to be incorporated. Poll tax and Jaziya were abolished and toleration for all faiths became the universal law of the empire. To conciliate his subjects, Akbar abjured the use of all flesh except on four special occasions in the year and he joined in the religious rites observed by his Hindu queens. In regard to particular customs of the people relating to points where natural humanity was shocked in a way to make union impossible Akbar strove by wise encouragement and stern control where necessary, to help the growth of better ideas. Remarriage was encouraged and marriage before puberty was prohibited. This process of removing all causes of friction and establishing harmony between the two peoples went on without interruption during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. Dara translated the Upanishads and wrote a work in which he sought to reconcile the Brahmin religion with the Mahomedan faith. This century was the halcyon period of Indian History when the Hindu and Mahomedan races lived amicably with each other. Aurangzeb followed a different path and the result was the destruction of the Mogul Empire. Muhammadan rule helped to refine the tastes and manners of the Hindus. The art of Government was better understood by the Mahomedans than by the old Hindu sovereigns. Muhammadans also excelled in the arts of war. Gunpowder and artillery were introduced by them. They brought ingenuity and mecha-

nical invention in a number of handicrafts. They introduced candles, paper, glass, household furniture and saddlery. They improved the knowledge of the people in music, instrumental and vocal, medicine, and astronomy. They made roads, aqueducts, canals and caravansaries. They instituted post offices and introduced the best specimens of architecture. They improved our gardening. They brought the rose and the onion. They established an efficient revenue system. Commerce flourished and relations with other parts of the world were established. On the whole the Mussalman rule was beneficial to India and awakened the Hindus from their apathy to material progress and the habitual lethargy to which they were accustomed in the degraded age of idolatrous and caste-ridden and priest-ridden mediæval India when dynasty after dynasty of Turks came and Turkish rule was unsettled—the darkest period of Indian history for over 5 centuries. In the 19th century a strong movement for reform was started in India by Sir Sayyid Ahmad. He energetically opposed fatalism, preached the doctrine "God helps those who help themselves," enthusiastically promoted education, founded a liberal College at Aligarh and in 1886 set on foot an annual educational Conference for the Muslims of India. Great success has attended those vigorous measures. The Indian Muslim reformers care more for the spirit of Qur'an than for the letter. The Indian reformers, introducing as they do, a rationalizing spirit, treat the Qur'an itself with freedom, and they are thus at liberty to read into it almost everything they like and out of it almost everything they dislike. Amcer Alli in "Spirit of Islam" says, "Objectionable elements such as the veil, polygamy, and divorce can be explained away: they are occasional, not eternal, commands: look deeper into them and you shall see that in reality the freedom

of women, monogamy, and the permanence of marriage were intended." As India passed into the hands of the English, the Muhammadans having recently lost their political power in India, they were reluctant to adapt themselves to the changed environment, for their racial pride did not permit them to join English Schools and Colleges and seek English service. This afforded the Hindus a march in advance of them in availing themselves of the loaves and fishes of English service by qualifying themselves in English schools and Colleges. With the loss of political power the Mussalman became inert and the zeal for religion spent itself and no elevating force was found to make him rise to the occasion. The Muslim in India lost touch with the outside Muslim world nor did any progressive ideas enter his head and so he sank to the level of his companions the Hindus and his faculties were benumbed and deterioration set in more rapidly in the Muhammadan community than among the Hindus. It is only when Swaraj became the common ideal of all Indians that we hear of progress being once more set on foot, and the Muhammadan of to-day is as zealous for national glory as he was formerly. Now in some parts of India the Hindus are better equipped both intellectually and economically for the battle of life than their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen. The Hindus have a wider and more universal outlook. Muslims must put forth their best efforts to remove these deficiencies of their own community, and it should also be the duty of every true Indian to help his Muhammadan fellow-countrymen to secure their intellectual and economic advancement with a view to equalise their economic and intellectual position with non-Muslim communities of India. Without a liberal and modern outlook upon life the Mussalmans will not be able to build up a modern democratic State in India, nor will they be able to solve the

Hindu-Muslim problems for the evolution of such a State. What is wanted is a movement of modernism and liberalism among the Indian Mussalmans. The Turk or the Egyptian is far in advance of the Indian Mussalman. The leaders of the Khilafat organisation have openly accepted and approved the policy of the Angora Government with regard to the Khilafat question. This shows that the modern spirit is already at work. In the interests of the State the Hindus and other advanced communities of India must associate themselves with the Muslims even when they may not take the initiative in every movement that may be calculated to improve the intellectual equipment, the moral and spiritual outlook, and the economic strength and self-sufficiency of their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen. Besides, the best thoughts and deeds of a country are the most cherished inheritance of its people. "The religion of the State" says Pearson, "is surely worthy of reverence as any creed of the churches, and ought to grow more in intensity from year to year." It is the duty of all educated Indians who have widened sympathies to foster and strengthen the spirit of patriotism, this devotion to the common cause of the country as is done in all modern States. What could have been the state of Europe and America if this sentiment had not been ingrained in the very nature of the people during a long course of centuries? India will not progress as long as our people remain strangers to this lofty ideal which had given scope for heroism and self-sacrifice in other countries of the world. What is good for the country is also good to the individual. Every one should see that he sets in motion the various progressive tendencies in humanity in the Indian nation. Nations are made by the efforts of individuals.

THE SIKHS.

In the 15th century a strong movement was started by Guru Nanack, the contemporary of Luther, to unite the Hindus and Muhammadans condemning alike the evil social customs among the Hindus and Muhammadans. Under the purely Hindu system, the intellect may admit, but the heart declines to allow a common platform to all people in the sight of God. The few educated Brahmans separated themselves from the rest of the community satisfying themselves that they are better gifted by God to know religion and that the rest are condemned and by a succession of births alone that they could be purified and be born as Brahmans when they could learn the true religion. Guru Nanack raised his voice condemning such doctrines and taught all men equally the love of God and of man. Caste, idolatry, polytheism, and gross conceptions of purity and pollution were the precise points in which the Muhammadans and Hindus were opposed to one another. Nanack condemned these evil customs among the Hindus. Nanack's watchword was that he was neither Hindu nor Muhammadan, but that he was a worshipper of the Nirakar or the formless. His teachings are the same as the teachings of Bhakti saints in Northern India. The religious scriptures are known as Granth and they are a collection of the teachings of Bhakti saints in Northern India. His first companion was a Muhammadan, and his teacher is said to have been also a Muhammadan. The abuses of polytheism were checked by the devotion to one object of worship which is the Supreme God, the Paramathma, and the abuses of caste were controlled by conceding to all Hindus and Muhammadans alike, the right of worship and love, the one God who is the God of all. The puritanic spirit of the Sikhs developed under persecution. Under Guru Govind Singh, the tenth Guru, the Sikhs

became a militant power. All their affairs, secular and spiritual, were regulated at the four great 'Takhts'—literally boards, platforms or thrones—of Akhalghar, Anandapur, Patna, and Abhainagar, where every Sikh, great or small, had a voice, for did not Guru Govind himself, after investing four disciples with 'pahal' stand in a humble attitude before them to be invested in his turn? Again, whenever Sikhs meet in the Guru's name there is the fifth Takhat, and it is not long ago that at one of them, the idolatrous practices, justified by the Durbar at Amritsar, were condemned by the consent of the faithful assembled at Akhalghar. Men and women, clergy and laity, of sacred and profane descent, all are merged in the one standing of 'Sikh'—learner or disciple.

THE EUROPEANS.

These are Christians who had forgotten Christ and his teachings. They came to India in buccaneering expeditions and in the early part of the 16th century settled themselves as traders owning some factories on some sea-coast towns. They gradually penetrated into the country and the English now rule over an area of 1,093,074 square miles with a population of 244,267,542 with suzerainty over the Indian states. The French have Pondicherry, Yanam, Mahe, Karikal and Chandranagore. The Portuguese have Goa, Diu and Daman. When they entered India their social and political institutions were as bad as they could be. But the spirit of enterprise and the love of supremacy over the sea brought them in contact with many peoples inhabiting this vast planet and as soon as they found that their social institutions were not suited for their progress, they adjusted themselves to the circumstances. At the present day they have advanced far ahead of all the nations of the world. By gradual reformation England is

what it is to day, the greatest Colonial Empire over which the sun never sets, the first maritime power, the most enterprising commercial nation and the richest industrial country in the world. The Indian has to learn from England that the stereotyped social institutions in which he lives can no longer help him to advance any further. He must take heart and work with unfailing strength.

What was the state of Europe when India was in the zenith of glory? The state of Europe was worse than our present state. The father could dispose of his children as he liked. Children were freely exposed in the old Greek and Roman world and among the Norsemen. In the case of the wife or of acknowledged children the father had the rights of a Magistrate *i. e.* though he could not legitimately put to death except for a grave and sufficient cause, there was no recognised tribunal to which an appeal from his sentence would lie. The father's right over the person and property of the child was also absolute. Neither wife nor children could possess property. The husband could take a stranger into his family to share his children's inheritance. The right of selling a ward's marriage was amongst the most profitable incidents of feudal tenure. A girl of seven years could be betrothed in Mediaeval England, and as down to a later time the marriages of mere children were still common, the parental authority in regard to marriage was practically absolute, and to marry without the consent of the parents was regarded as an outrage on decency. In England the education of women was neglected until a quite late epoch. Mr. Stanton says in "*Woman's Bible*:" "The canon and civil law, Church and State alike taught that woman was made after man, of man, and for man, an inferior being, subject to man." St. Paul and the Christian fathers approved her inferiority

and subjection. Their disdain for her and their contempt for marriage are well-known. St. Augustine asks himself why she was created at all. Some fathers looked upon her as the "root of all evil" created "from a rib of Adam's body not from a part of his soul." "Marriage is good for those who are afraid to sleep at home at night and soon." In the feudal legislation of Europe woman sank lower and lower. Luky says "woman sank to a lower legal position than she ever occupied under paganism, notwithstanding the fact that Christianity did introduce into the Roman world some true principles as regards woman." Legouve says "under the feudal regime conjugal morals return to brutality." Miss Cady Stanton gives a summary (History of Women's Suffrage) of the English common law which, basing itself on the alleged inferiority of woman deprived her of the control of person and property and made her morally and economically dependent on her husband. What after all is the Christian conception of woman! When man was made, God, afterwards, of a rib of his side, made woman to show, it has been said, that "he was not created principally to attend to generation as other living creatures are; for work in matrimony is a work very base" (Ven. Louis de l'onte S. J. Meditations VI 264, 272, 274).

Even the great poet Milton, the Puritan, the republican, the Cromwellian, the author of *Areopagitica*, the advocate of the freedom of the press, wrote of woman as follows:—

"Oh! why did God,
 Creator wise, that peopled highest heaven
 With spirit masculine, create at last
 This novelty on earth, this fair defect
 Of nature? and not fill the world at once

With men, as angels, without feminine?
Or find some other way to generate
Mankind? This mischief had not then befallen,
And more that shall befall, innumerable
Disturbances on earth through female snares
And strait conjunction with this sex."

"It is only after," John Stuart Mill wrote: "the subjection of woman that the conscience of England was awakened, after 1865 only that an advance was made to establish her position and rights." It is only very recently that women had acquired some status in England. The class distinctions in Great Britain are in no way better than the caste distinctions in India. Mr. Sydney Brooks (in the *North American Review*) says of England before the American War of Independence: "What was it at bottom that made the English atmosphere before the war so difficult for an American to breathe in freely? It was, I believe, that he felt himself in a country where the dignity of life was lower than his own; a country where a man born in ordinary circumstances expected, and was expected to die in ordinary circumstances; where the scope of his efforts was traced beforehand by the accident of position; where he was handicapped in all cases and crushed in most by the superincumbent weight of convention, "good form" and the deadening artificialities and conventions of an old society.... There were some trades and professions and occupations that were "respectable" and others which were not.... There was not a single Englishman who had not the social privilege of despising some other Englishman, and the lower one penetrated in the social scale. The more complex and mysterious and the more rigidly drawn did these lines of demarcation become."

All the various peoples described above who domicile

in India constitute the Indian nation. I have simply enumerated the races, describing their social customs and religious conception, but I have not attempted to state the localities in which these races are particularly found. Everywhere there is an intermixture of blood and it is not possible to speak with certainty what particular races inhabit each province. Indian Ethnology may give us some clue but the science itself is still in an embryonic state and I dare not rush into regions where angels are afraid to tread. Having acquainted you with these indispensable preliminaries I shall proceed to deal with the subject on hand—the development of democracy—from the standpoint of (1) Religion, (2) Politics, (3) Economics (4) Social Purification, (5) the Doctrine of Human Brotherhood.



Chapter II.

RELIGION.

With atheists and agnostics, the dominating principle is that of Positivism i.e., the greatest happiness of the largest number of mankind in every field of human activity and enterprise. Theists look upon this universe as the manifestation of the Almighty existing from eternity to eternity. In the conception of this Almighty there are various interpretations given by various commentators. Each to force his own interpretation on others waged innumerable wars devastating countries and bringing sorrow into every home. In the name of religion the grossest atrocities were committed on humanity. Think of the Buddhistic blood that has been spilt on Indian soil to expel Buddhism from the shores of India. Think of the crusades between the cross and the crescent that manured Western Asia with human bones for centuries. Think of the wars between Protestants and Roman Catholics—the thirty years' war in Central Europe—the persecution of Huguenots in France and the Inquisition in Spain and the escape of Pilgrim fathers from England. What were these wars for? It is to inject into humanity through every gaping wound caused either by the sword or the bullet the interpretation of Almighty from the viewpoint of each offender. The world is sick of such wars and religious toleration is the outcome of this sad experience of humanity. All men believe in the power of the Almighty and look upon the universe as the revelation and each religious book as a commentary on the revelation. It is left to the individual will to choose whatever commentary he likes and there is no reason why all people should adopt the same commentary. True religion is the realisation of the Almighty in man. To be

one with God is the goal of all religions. If the Hindus and Mussalmans realised the oneness of all religions in the 13th century in India, Indian history would have had to tell a different tale and India would have been a prosperous nation among the nations of the world. It is the differentiation of religions that made one to run one's sword over the throat of one's neighbour and thus paved the way for European intervention and their final domination. It is the same spirit of intolerance that is prevalent in the Punjab, Mysore and Malabar that comes often like a cloud to make the sun of Democracy invisible on the Indian horizon. Unless every one in India gives up religious bigotry and tries to live and work for the common good of the nation, Democracy will be a stranger to this land, the rich will oppress the poor and the high will sneer at the low and the capitalist will tease the labourer.

KHILAFAT.

Every human institution stands for the realisation of certain ideals prompted by human sentiments. Institutions are not to be judged by themselves but as furthering the development of sentiments and an institution is good or bad as the sentiment supporting it is one or the other. The institution of the Khilafat has often been misunderstood and the attempt to express Muslim ideals in Western terminology has made matters worse. The Khalifa is not a Pope and cannot issue "bulls." He is not even a priest. He cannot enforce his own interpretation of the sacred texts and meddle with the religious consciousness of his fellow Mussalmans. He cannot, like the Pope of middle ages, suspend even a divine law, as for instance, permitting persons to marry within the prohibited relations. The Khalifas of the past have never arrogated these powers to themselves. Throughout the extensive domain of Muslim religi-

ous law "Ibadt and Momilat"—the Khalifa has no influence over his co-religionists except what his personal piety and learning might secure him. Kingly power is unnecessary to Caliph though many Caliphs of the past have exercised a despotic sway over their subjects. In fact despotic power is entirely opposed to the basic principles of the Khilafat; for unlike the King the Caliph's power does not arise from any sort of divine right but from the free choice of all free Mussalmans. That he is the chosen of the people and responsible to their opinion is his glory and greatness. That he should not act except after consulting them, that he should convince before he commands is, according to the best of Mussalman traditions, a necessary condition of his office.

What then is the Khilafat? It is an institution for the protection and preservation of those ideals of a common brotherhood found in the whole Muslim world. The Mussalmans are one people; in a sense the followers of no other religion are one people. The prophet said in his last speech at holy Mecca "And this is my last advice unto you: *You are of one brotherhood.*" And in spite of a thousand conflicts and a thousand wars the brotherly feeling dwells in the hearts of all Mussalmans to-day not merely as a pleasant memory but as a living reality. There is nothing clerical about the institution of Khilafat. The differentiation of Church and State is unknown to Muslim theory; for the Islam the State is the Church. The Khilafat thus, on the one hand, includes both the political and religious interests, on the other hand it should exclude those interests not common to the whole Muslim world.

The Mussalmans of the world have a right to give their opinion concerning the Khilafat but the internal Government of Turkey is purely a Turkish question and

outside Mussalmans have no business to interfere. So also the national state of Turkey has nothing to do with the internal administration of other Muslim countries.

When Kingship was the order of the day and a common culture had partially eliminated the consciousness of national differences the despotic rule of the Caliph over all Mussalmans did not appear anomalous. The days of Harun Al-Raschid have gone. Arabic is no longer the language of common culture and the indigenous literatures of Muslim nations have been developing for centuries. The tradition of an international Muslim Government has been dead for a thousand years, while innumerable causes have tended to emphasise national differences. A Khilafat of the Abba Side type is impossible of realisation and would be altogether vicious if realised; for it could only establish itself by crushing the liberal movements so young and rigorous in the Muslim world.

INDIA.

India has never been directly governed by the Caliph. The mediaeval Kings of India were the "helpers" (Nasir) of the commander of the faithful or they rose higher and became his "partners" (Quasim). They were confirmed in their royal authority after they had attained to it through force, election or hereditary rights. They were never appointed by him and consequently never degenerated to the rank of mere Governors. This was as it should have been. India was never included in Khilafat lands. The power of the Caliph rested on the Shariat, the religious law of the Mussalmans. But the Shariat must be remembered as the personal law of Mussalmans and could not be enforced on non-Muslims. Consequently when the majority of the inhabitants did not follow the Shariat the Khalifa could have no authority. If Harun Al-Raschid had conquered

India he would have become its king, not its caliph, for you cannot have a caliph ruling over a non-muslim people. The religious obligation which binds his co-religionists to him has no force with men of alien creed. It must be quite another tie that unites them to him, a tie with which Islam has nothing to do. The reasons which kept India out of the Khilafat in the past have lost none of their force. The Khilafat, whatever form it assumes, has to be confined to countries overwhelmingly Muslim in population.

POWERS.

The power of Khilafat according to orthodox tradition is for defensive purposes only. A caliph may be bellicose and aggressive like any other man; but if he takes the aggressive, he cannot as Caliph ask his fellow-Muslims to support him. Allied to it is another tradition that even in case of defensive war, the Mussalmans of the neighbourhood are to be called first and those far off only in case of extreme necessity. The Caliph has never been considered to be at liberty to throw the whole Muslim world into convulsions for the sake of every little skirmish on the frontier.

With the above considerations in view, the position of Indian Mussalmans will appear in a two-fold light. On the one hand, the Khalifa cannot legally command them for they are not in a land within the Khilafat fold. On the other hand, they are in duty bound to help him for the feeling of brotherliness which the Khilafat embodies is in them also. But their help can only be asked for and need only be given in cases of extreme urgency when the existence of Islam is really in danger, a contingency, which in the past has arisen about once in 4 centuries.

TURKISH VIEW.

From the point of view of Turkey's interests as well as those of the rest of the Muslim world, Khilafat as it has existed in Turkey has been found to be worse than a failure. The Turks establishing a Republic as the only effective and safely reliable means of regenerating their nation, regard the existence of the Khilafat not only unnecessary but a positive danger to the growth and continuance of national life and unity not only in Turkey but also in the rest of the Muslim world. They contend "*the Khilafat Office idea* which has been conserved since ages to realise the basis of a United Muslim Government in the world has never been realised and on the contrary has been a constant cause of strife and duplicity among the Muslims." They say that an ideal Khilafat is an Utopia. They do not want to risk their future national destiny upon mere sentimental and theoretical grounds such as the need and importance of having one central authority "the Khilafat for the protection and uplift of the whole Islamic world." They say that except in the first 30 years the period of the first 4 Caliphs such a thing as an ideal Khilafat had never existed in any part of the Muslim world. They exclaim, "What are the fruits and achievements of the Khilafat in terms of national greatness and prosperity, whether in spiritual or temporal affairs?" "What example or standard of Islamic life and morality was set by the successive Khalifs?" "How far Islam has been a living force among the institutions and the daily life of the people during these 4 centuries?" The next question they ask is "How far the souls, the minds, the morals and the physical and material interests of the people had any chance of development and growth under the imperial and despotic rule of the Khalifs whom it would be nothing short of blasphemy to call or regard as the representatives of the

successors of the great heroes of Islam—Hazarat Abubaker, Umar, Usman, and Ali—the only Khalifs who ever fulfilled the conditions of the Islamic Khilafat.” The Khalifs in Turkey during the last 2 centuries were bartering away the most vital interests of the nation in the form of concessions, known as “the capitulations,” which they granted to foreign bankers and exploiters for the sake of money most of which was squandered upon personal pleasures. The Caliphs of Turkey blocked by means of an iron wall of unmitigated autocracy, all avenues of light and learning so as to keep the people in utter darkness as to what the rest of Europe was accomplishing in the way of human emancipation and advance. The Caliphs of Turkey had inflicted the severest penalties upon some of their subjects for the crime of being patriots. In 1854 the Caliph borrowed millions from six European powers and started the Ottoman Debt which had been sapping the very foundation of national prosperity ever since. In 1881 the Caliph signed the decree of Moharram by which he mortgaged six important state revenues of the Turkish Empire and placed them under the direct administration of the council of Ottoman Debt which consisted of the representatives of six foreign European powers who were competing for the exploitation of the country. Caliph after Caliph enforced a reactionary policy depriving the country and the people of all modern means of progress and prosperity with the result that practically the whole economic and financial resources of the empire were exploited by foreigners. While even such small countries as Switzerland, Holland and Belgium were producing great scholars and public men and were exporting their manufactures to distant parts of the world, Turkey, even though it was a great empire, till very recently could not supply necessary expert knowledge even for her own needs and had to depend upon foreigners

for such vital and national requirements as banks, railways, telegraphs etc., so much so that even for the purposes of defence, fortifications and armament she had to call in the aid of German generals and British manufacturers. The last 2 centuries which is the period of greatest advance in European civilisation and prosperity, is the time during which Turkey's decay, moral, material and political, has been continuous and complete. This is what the Khalifat had effected in Turkey during the last 4 centuries. What did it do for Islam and the Muslim world outside Turkey? Did it protect the Muslims in Morocco or Algeria or in other parts of Africa against the European Christian powers which had brought them under their sway? Did it help the Muslim power in India when it was attacked or overwhelmed by internal or external foes? What was the nature of the Government in Egypt and Arabia while it lasted? Has it left there any monument in the shape of systems or institutions necessary for moral and material well-being of the Muslims entrusted to its charge? Ghazi Mustafa Kamal tells the Indian Mussalmans that "The Khilafat Office idea, which has been conserved since ages to realise the basis of a united Muslim Government in the world, has never been realised, and on the contrary has been a constant cause of strife and duplicity among the Muslims, whereas their real interests expect it as a principle that the social associations may constitute themselves into independent Government. The spiritual and real bond between Muslim nations is understood to be in the signification of the sacred verse: "*Innamal Mominoona Ikhwatem.*" The bond of "Imam" or true faith is the real unifying force. The most effective means of realising this desideratum is the determination of the muslims to make an organised effort to equip themselves with all the spiritual, mental, moral and material forces and resources

so as to acquite the condition and status of a progressive and prosperous people. When such is the view of the Turkish Free State the Indian Mussalmans also must adapt themselves to the circumstances that are preparing in the modern world.

There must be an open and unambiguons repudiation by every patriotic Mussalman of his conceit of extra territorial patriotism. He must be loyal in all political and economic relations to India in preference to every other country in the world. There must be the separation of sectarian or denominational religious authority from political and economic duties and obligations. Even the declaration of Jebad shall not be permitted to interfere with the supreme obligations of the Indian Mussalman to the law and authority of the composite Indian state.

Cannot a Mussalman nationalist reconcile himself with international co-operation with his brother Mussalmans out-side the political limits of Nationalistic India? That the Turkish Free State has already solved by federalism. The various Muslim countries and their legislatures should be left not only with powers of internal administration but also with full sovereign status. Only certain specified rights should be left to an international administration presided over by the Caliph. The exact definition of those rights would be necessary to prevent the Caliph's servants from clashing with the national Governments.

The Caliph would become the grand international representative of Islam.

The Caliph should be above all national and sectional feuds. In the national Government of India the Mussalmans have a right, not as Mussalmans but as

minority, that their religious rights should be respected and that they should be provided with guarantees sufficient to ensure them against the possibility of sectarian oppression. The right belongs to all minorities in all lands. Minorities are tender things. Any little event upsets them. And yet once minorities are alienated a truly national Government is impossible. Majorities and minorities lose their moral claim to govern the country when the ideal inspiring them is their sectarian welfare and not the general good.

MAJORITY.

There is no transcendent law giving the majority a right to govern; its moral power is based on the simple assumption, that since the good of the country is what all have in view, the opinion of the many is more likely to be correct than the opinion of the few. But where a majority makes it clear that the public good is not what it wants the majority is under no obligation to obey it. Force, then, takes the place of discussion and heads are broken, instead of being counted. Thus in the interest of Indian Nationalism, not that of pan-Islamism, that Mussalmans and all other Indian minorities are granted the guarantee they demand. A nationalistic government is founded on good will, assurance of fair play, and safety to all. Without this no nationalistic Government is possible anywhere. The Muslim claim to veto any law touching their communal interest by a majority of three-fourths would neither gain nor lose its force if there were no Mussalmans outside India. These claims are not items of general pan-Islamic push. They are problems to be viewed from the standpoint of Indian Nationalism. The state should always observe religious neutrality. There is the supreme need of building up a purely secular state in India, which shall owe no special allegiance to any particular denominational law or scripture.

India is the land wherein almost all the religions of the world are found. In a truly nationalistic India the rights of all should be guaranteed, whether they belong to majority or minority. Whoever domiciles himself within the geographical confines of India has a birth-right to be treated with all fairness as a free citizen of a free state. Every nationalist in India must so change his heart as to look upon every Indian with a brotherly feeling. He should earnestly attempt to discourage every kind of jealousy between various religions and encourage mutual understanding and sympathetic co-operation between them all, as the one indispensable requirement for fostering the spirit of Nationalism. Sons of the same father, professing the same religion, living in the same house, enjoying the same social and religious privileges may entertain the bitterest feelings of hatred and enmity against each other. It is not on the oneness of religion that social harmony can exist but on the development of those sentiments in the human heart, of fellow-feeling, kindness, toleration, sympathy and an earnest desire to preserve national independence at all costs. It is the change of heart that is required. All people may not necessarily profess the same religion. Every Nationalist would lay to heart what a well-known poet has said about the deepest cause of the failure of the greatest of ancient European Empires:—

Like ours it looked in out-ward air.

Its head was clear and true.

Sumptuous its clothing, rich its fare,

No pause its action knew.

Stout was its arm each thw and bone,

Seemed puissant and alive—

But ah! its heart! its heart was stone.

And so it could not thrive.

The lesson thus enshrined is one that must be learnt and acted on by every national organism that desires to prosper or even to endure.

Religion is no doubt the motive power setting in motion every human activity, purifying, ennobling, stimulating and evolving humanity. All the piety of the world has its basis in religion. The love of God, the promptitude for righteous action, the knowledge about God and the communion with God have all their bases in religion. But no one is a true devotee of God who injures his neighbour. All are equal in the eye of God. Men and women are the children of God. Any injury inflicted on a neighbour is a violation of the fundamental principles of religion. Above all religions is Freedom. Freedom is Mukti or salvation. A state without freedom is a body without life. Plato says, "The state is the individual writ large." When freedom is the goal of individual existence it must also be the goal of a collective existence of individuals forming the state because the individual in striving for the ideal has co-operated with other individuals of like nature in placing the results of the joint achievement in a permanent form of a state not to be shaken with every blast of the wind. Every sacrifice made for the preservation of the state is a step in advance towards perfection. Every sacrifice made for the preservation of the state accelerates the evolution of soul and brings the individual nearer to God.

CHRISTIANITY.

Does Christianity stand in the way of Indian Nationalism? A sincere Christian may experience a kind of shock in finding that friends cannot see as he sees and think as he thinks. If he realises at an early stage, before irreparable mischief is done by his prejudices, differences are not

always as great as they seem with regard to fundamental unities of thought and life. They are merely varieties in the preference of methods rather than in the principles underlying all. What matter all these religious differences of which we make so much, when we find eternal verities of beauty and truth underlying them all and teaching us the elementary lesson that we learn from the lips of the teacher, "Little children, love one another." If we keep in mind this fundamental unity we learn to look upon each other as sons and daughters of God and heirs of the same Kingdom of Heaven. Every one must lay to his heart what Longfellow has said of this fundamental unity:

"Onc holy church of God appears
Through every age and race
Unwasted by the lapse of years
Unchanged by changing place.

"From oldest time, on farthest shores,
Beneath the pine or palm,
One Unseen Presence she adores
With silence or with psalm.

"Her priests are all God's faithful sons,
To serve the world raised up;
The pure in heart her baptised ones,
Love her communion cup.

"The truth is her prophetic gift,
The soul her sacred page;
And feet on mercy's errand swift,
Do make her pilgrimage."

POLITICAL AGGRANDISEMENT.

But the vulgarity of turning religion into a means of money-making and empire-building has been a fashion

of these political and commercial times. It is a greater abuse of what is sacred when these manoeuvres are worked by persons who have no religious faith in the doctrines which for other motives they seek to propagate. Many instances might be given of the exploitation of Christianity in support of political interests. It was in this sense that it was said by a French minister, "Anticlericalism is not an article of export." For religion attacked at home was found to serve French colonial aims and the maintenance abroad of French interests. There are (Conflict of Colour—by B. L. Putnam Weale P. 119) those "who still believe that, as it will be, in our day, impossible to bar out the hordes of Asia and Africa, the only safeguard for Europe and the white man still lies to-day as in the past in Christianity, and that the impossibility of allying themselves with other creeds is perhaps the reason why instinctively the great movement towards Christianising the coloured world is growing stronger and stronger in Anglo-Saxon countries as a sort of forlorn hope launched to capture an almost impregnable position." The author cited is not ashamed to supply an example of political Christianity of his own and to confess that "the part which the white man is politically called upon to play in Africa is the part of "Delilah and no other; for if the black man is Christianised, his destructive strength is stripped from him as was Samson's when his locks were cut." He says that in India the hope of a general Christianisation is illusory for "it is there looked upon as a disintegrating force, a purely European thing aiming at destroying the most essential parts of social fabrics which have been slowly and painfully built up through ages." He adds that "it is a strange fact which has often attracted the attention of unbiassed observers that Asian converts to Christianity are not only denationalised but are not morally benefited; the very effect of breaking away from the support of

their natural environment being an unnatural one and therefore visited with bad effects." Indian nationalism respects the rights of all minorities because her aim is the general good. All sincere Christians have not only any fear from their neighbours but they should also, in the interests of notionalty, be very careful that they do not fall victims to the machinations of the political Christianity of the West so ably depicted by Putnam Weale. Their attitude towards the nationalistic movement decides the sympathy and veneration of their fellow countrymen towards them. They have to bear in mind the passage in 2 Kings X 15: "*And when he was departed thence, he lighted on Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, coming to meet him; and he saluted him and said to him: 'Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?' And Jehonadab answered, 'It is. If it be, give me thine hand.'*" The circumstances preceding this passage are briefly these:—The house of Omri after the death of Ahab advocated the worship of Syrian gods Baal and Ashtaroah in the regime of the Dowager Queen Jezebel instead of Jehovah, the God of the Israelites. Elijah and Elisha the prophets of Israel encouraged Jehu, the leader of the Jehovistic revolution. The whole of the royal house of Omri was massacred and Jehu was returning from the scene of massacre. Jehonadab was the leader of the Kenites, a tribe of Arabs from the Sinaitic desert, which had proved friendly to the Israelites in the time of their wanderings. They were also followers of Jehovah adopting a primitive puritanism from which Israel, to her shame, had fallen away. In this crisis they met. Jehonadab is known to Jehu as the friend of the Israelites and his coming to meet Jehu corroborates it. The question is whether he will go along with him in full confidence. "*Is thine heart right even as my heart is with thy heart? Will you trust me*

as I will trust you? In this movement I have put my foot down and I cannot reconsider, and I will not go back. If we are to be allies, it must be all in all." Similar is the question which the Indian Nationalist puts to the leaders of the Christian community. The sympathy of Indian Christians is always with their other Indian brethren as that of Jehonadab with Jehu. They all suffer under the same tyranny and are subjected to the same exploitation and suffer from the same evils that eat into the vitals of the Indian national organism and also carry on their forehead the same badge of slavery and inferiority among nations of the world besides being equal victims to famine, pestilence, plague, malaria and cholera which are the results of the same economic forces working in the country. What heals the sores in the Indian national organism heals the sores in the Christian community. Let them bear in mind the noble words of St. Paul: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things. The things that ye both learned and received and heard and saw in me, these things do, and the God of peace shall be with you." The aim of Indian Nationalism is to allow each people to work out their own development without outside interference from others. This is the principle of Swadharma which was proclaimed by Bhagawan Sri Krishna on the banks of the Saraswati river in ancient India and now named by the modern European nations as the principle of self-determination. It is an essentially Indian principle that each individual and people, has and have his and their own law—Swadharma governing their development and that they should be free to follow it. "Swadharma," says Prof. P. N. Mikhypadhaya, "is the individual's particular current in the great

stream of the flow of cosmic evolution." India stands for the principle "live and let live" according to the law of self-evolution. Indian Nationalism will never attempt to commit suicide by cutting the very basis on which it stands. When the first disciples of Jesus came to him and said, "Master, we saw one casting out evil spirits in Thy name and we forbade him because he followed not us." Jesus replied, "Forbid him not, for there is no man which shall do a mighty work in my name and be able quickly to speak evil of Me. For he that is not against us is on our side." The followers of Christ must view with the same spirit of catholicity the basic principles of which Indian Nationalism is the embodiment. Since Nationalism is not against the noblest teachings of Christ, Indian Christians will work out their evolution as the other communities in India. Nationalism enables them to lift their heads and look the whole world in the face as the free citizens of a free country. The Northern Christians came and settled in the West coast as early as the 6th century of the Christian era and nobody interfered with their religious worship and they had nothing to complain against the nationalistic governments then existing.

BUDDHISM AND JAINISM.

Turn we to the two religions of Buddhism and Jainism which have their birth in this ancient land. Professor Rhys Davids has said: "Gautama's whole training is Brahmanical. Buddhism is the product of Hinduism. He probably deemed himself to be the perfect exponent of the spirit as distinct from the letter of the ancient faith." The reverence with which Hindus look upon Buddha and his teachings is nothing short of their devotion to Sri Krishna. He is an incarnation of the Hindu religion and his Avatara succeeds that of Sri Krishna. It was possibly owing to

the later developments of Buddhism which the Hindus had to combat that his Avatara was spoken of by puranic writers in the age of decadence and degradation of Hindu religious spirit as having been for the purpose of misleading and destroying men. Buddha taught Dharma, Karma, Reincarnation, deliverance from Avidya in Nirvana, practised Dhyana and experienced Samadhi which in no way conflict with the teachings of Sri Krishna. Jainism is another offshoot of Hinduism. Its first Tirthankhara Rishabdewa is said in the Bhagavata Purana to have been an Avatara of Vishnu; and the 22nd Arhat of the Jains Shri Neminatha is described as a cousin of Sri Krishna.

ZOROASTRIANISM.

As far as the vague records of the past can be traced we find the Aryan stock settling for some time on the western borders of India divided at a later period into two groups, one of which went down into Persia, while the other occupied the North Indian plains, the birth place of Buddhism and Jainism. Though there is a little difference in the religious conceptions of these two peoples their languages have strikingly similar roots. The Rig Veda embodies the religious conception of Indo-Aryans and Zendavesta those of the Parsees. This difference in the religious conceptions is accounted for by the late production of Zendavesta many centuries after the Rig Veda. The Parsees lived in India long before the advent of the European nations and they were respectfully treated by Hindu princes though they had to flee from Persia, the land of their birth for the sake of religious toleration.

SIKHISM.

Sikhism has its origin in the Punjab. Its founder was Guru Nanak, the contemporary of Luther in Europe.

It is a school of advanced religious thought in Hinduism itself laying great stress on Bhakti or devotion. Owing to the religious persecutions of its followers by Mogul emperors this purely religious order was changed into a fighting people by Govind the 10th successor of Nanak. The religious scriptures of the Order are called the Granth which is a compilation of the hymns of the various Bhakti teachers of North India.

NATIONALISM.

Above all these seven great religions and common to all these (Hinduism, Muhammadanism, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism and Sikhism) there is a higher religion in India to-day which calls itself Nationalism. It is not a mere political programme but a religion in which all who follow it, will have to live and suffer. It is no intellectual conceit to call oneself a nationalist. To be a nationalist in India means to be an instrument of God and to live in that spirit for it is no human force that is awakening the nation but the divine call ringing in the ears of young India. India may not be politically strong, she may not possess able-bodied sons, she may not have great scientists and literates. She may not have high intellectuals. But she must have a people, who believe in her new religion, Nationalism.

Every religion is persecuted in its earliest stages. Similarly certain forces have appeared against this new religion. The question then becomes a personal one. Are you who wish to take your part in this divine movement able to endure? Will you suffer? Have you got a real faith that the movement is from God or is it merely a political aspiration? Or, is it merely a larger selfishness? Or is it merely that you wish to be free in order to oppress others, as you are being oppressed?

Does your political creed spring from the divine fountain? Is it really God that is born in you? Do you really believe? Have you realised that you are merely the instruments of God and that your bodies are not your own? If you have realised all this, then you are true nationalists able to save the soul of India from everlasting perdition.

You all know what Turkey used to be—a term of reproach and a by-word among nations. What has made Turkey so different to-day? What has made Turkey to be the ideal of the world? Turkey has learnt to believe. She has now her faith in God. She believes in her new religion, Nationalism.

Nationalism is a movement which no obstacle can stop. However high the dam of oppression may be built as the great Asian Poet Laureate has sung of the dam of Muktheadhara, it will one day burst over-power and destroy the machinery that is instrumental in raising it. God is born again on earth to save his people. The Hindu believes that God is born again and again to save the world when Adharma is predominant. God has a mission to accomplish through His great and ancient nation in India. He had preserved a few thousands of Jews *the Israelites* to sow broadcast the gospel of Christianity. Has he preserved in vain the 300 million people of India from being swept away from the face of this planet during so many centuries of oppression if He has no divine mission to achieve?

God is revealing himself in you—not that you may rise by human strength to trample under-foot the weaker peoples, but because something must come out of you which is to save your nation and the world. That which the ancient Seers knew and revealed of old is to be known again on earth; and in order that God may reveal Himself

again, you must realise Him in yourselves and shape your own lives and the life of this great nation that it may be fit to reveal Him.

In the season of ordeal and persecution only the children of grace, for whom the gospel is preached, are able to see the vision of its glory. The world admires and hates but will not believe. It promulgates ordinances to eradicate all believers in the Divine mission and breathes out threatenings against the disciple of the Lord. Even in the nation itself to which the gospel is preached, the rich man and the high-priest receive the doctrine with contempt, because its enthusiasms are unintelligible to their worldly wisdom, its inspired teachings are a scandal to their narrow systems; they even accuse its apostles before the tribunal of alien rulers as pestilent fellows and movers of sedition throughout the nation. But Nationalism is a divinely appointed power of the Eternal and as such cannot be suppressed and must do its God-given work before it returns to the Universal Energy from whence it came.

Sir Herbert Risby, in his speech on India at the annual banquet of the Royal Asiatic Society, held in May, 1910, says, "The idea of nationality was first divined from India; it travelled westwards; now it is travelling back to the East growing and spreading but without the root of experience." He quotes Sir Henry Maine as his authority for this statement. May it please the Almighty to foster and strengthen Nationalism in the land of its birth, its roots penetrating deep into humanity so that they may touch the true springs of human life from which it may have a perennial supply of nourishment which will keep it ever-green and flourishing.

Lord Acton observes in his essay on Nationality:—
"The pursuit of a remote and ideal object which captivates

the imagination by its splendour and the reason by its simplicity, evokes an energy which would not be inspired by a rational possible end, limited by many antagonistic claims and confined to what is reasonable, practicable and just. One excess or exaggeration is the corrective of the other, and error promotes truth, where the masses are concerned, by counter-balancing a contrary error. The few have not strength to achieve great changes unaided, the many have not wisdom to be moved by truth unmixed. When the disease is various, no particular definite remedy can meet the wants of all. Only the attraction of an abstract idea or of an ideal state, can unite in a common action, multitudes who seek a universal cure for many special evils, and common restorative applicable to many different conditions."

At first, man, under his selfish impulses, refuses an obligation to serve the interests of others but as the complexity of the said structure increases he learns to identify the interests of the nation with his own, and realises the duty to his nations as well as to himself. When there is a clash of interests between the individual and the nation the individual must subordinate his interests to that of the nation. C. H. Pearson says in his "National life and Character;" "There was no sense of national life in the community in the Roman Empire when it was about to fall. The Roman Empire fell to pieces, not because its administrators were always inefficient or its armies weak or its finances and mechanical resources inferior to those of the nations which overpowered it, but because there was really no sense of national life in the community. Unless the general feeling in a people is to regard individual existence and fortunes as of no practical account in comparison with the existence and self-respect of the body politic the dis-integrating forces of time will always be stronger in

the long run than any given organization. In fact, devotion to the state as the embodiment of the collective interests of the nation has become in all civilised countries an article of faith, almost as binding as a religious duty. Even more than a citizen's duty to his religious faith is his duty to his country regarded as binding. Amongst the obligations of a citizen patriotism is above all religion. The paramount duty of the citizen to make every possible sacrifice for the protection and honour of the state is recognised by all modern states by passing the law of conscription, requiring any able-bodied adult male to serve in the army when required. This sacrifice is demanded solely on the ground that the requirements of the state are paramount over those of the individual for national existence. The best thoughts and deeds of a country are the most cherished inheritance of its people from generation to generation till the end of history. "The religion of the state," says Mr. Pearson, "is surely worthy of reverence as any creed of the churches, and ought to grow in intensity from year to year."

Dr. Sir Rabindranath Tagore writes in his *Viswa Bharati* of religion thus :—

"It should be the function of religion to provide us with the universal idea of truth and maintain it in its purity. But men have often made perverse use of their religion, building with it permanent walls to ensure their own separateness. In the region of worldly interest, our individual boundaries, in spite of their strength, are adjustable; they are ever changing their lines of demarcation. A man, who, in the natural course of things, is a stranger to me, may establish intimate kinship with me tomorrow; one who has been my enemy may become my best friend in time. But if we use religion itself for the delimitation of our mutual relationships, then those boundaries become rigidly unalterable. Religion must only deal with things that belong to the spiritual realm of the central and with the sentiments that are self-luminous carrying their ultimate value in themselves. It should allow a great part of human existence to lie

outside its direct interferences, so that life may enjoy its freedom of growth guided by laws of reason or rhythm of beauty. The guidance of reason constantly varies its course, in its perpetual process of adjustment with unforeseen circumstances; its scope is ever being widened by contact with new data. But, if religion, which is to give us emancipation in the realm of the infinite, tries also to usurp the place of reason in the world of the finite, then it brings about utter stagnation and sterility. There are very many dangers in a Sectarian Religion. There was a time in the middle ages in Europe when religion acted like a wall surrounding the whole life of the people. We know how it tried to keep its sway over the western world through persecution, excommunication and even suppression of science. By the sheer vigour of their intellect the Western people have broken through this imprisonment of their mind and have achieved in their life a freedom which makes it possible for them to approach and receive truth in its various phases and forms. Intercourse between men is not merely external, its deepest channel is through the freedom of the mind. When religion instead of emancipating the mind fetters it within the narrow confinement of creeds and conventions, then it becomes the greatest barrier against a true meeting of races. Christianity when it minimises its spiritual truth, which is universal and emphasises its dogmatic side, which is a mere accretion of time, has the same effect of creating a mental obstruction which leads to the misunderstanding of people who are outside its pale. A great deal of the unmerited contempt and cruelty, which the non-western peoples have suffered in their political, commercial or other relations at the hands of the West is owing to sectarian calumnies with which even the Western children's text books are contaminated. Nevertheless this Sectarian religion does not occupy the greater part of the Western life and therefore in its heart still remains the possibility of a better human relationship than what prevails now between the races. We have seen Europe cruelly unscrupulous in its politics and commence widely spreading slavery over the face of the earth in various names and forms. And yet, in this very same Empire, protest is always alive against its iniquities. Martyrs are never absent whose lives of sacrifice are the penance for the wrongs done by their own kindred. The individuality which is western is not to be designated by any sect-name of a particular religion but is distinguished by its eager attitude towards truth, in two of its aspects, scientific and humanistic. This openness of mind to truth has also

its moral value and so in the West it has often been noticed that, while those who are professedly pious have sided with tyrannical power, encouraging repression of freedom, the men of intellect, the sceptics have bravely stood for justice and the rights of man.

I do not mean to say that those who seek truth always find truth, and we know that men in the west are apt to borrow the sanction of science under false pretences to give expressions to their passions and prejudices. To many thinkers there has appeared a clear connection between Darwin's theories and Imperialism, Teutonic and other, which was so marked a feature during the sixties. We have also read Western authors who, admirably mimicking scientific mannerism, assert that only the so-called Nordic race has the proper quality and therefore the right to rule the world; extolling its characteristic ruthlessness as giving it the claim against universal dominance. But we must not forget that such aberrations of science, added with wrong or imperfect data, will be knocked down by science itself. The stream of water in a river does carry sand, but so long as the stream is fluent it will push away that sand from its path. If the mental attitude is right we need not be afraid of mistakes. That is why the individual in the West has no unsurpassable barrier between himself and the rest of humanity. He may have his prejudices but no irrational injunctions to keep him in internment away from the wide world of men.

RELIGION vs. REASON.

A Muhammadan is defined by his religion. But a religion does not consist merely in its spiritual essence; a great deal of it is formal, the out-come of special historic circumstances. All things that constitute new forms of religion are exclusive. No man belonging to a different creed can claim them as his own. There are therefore fences that separate and are more-over constant causes of conflict so long as they are more valued than the essential truths of religion. Therefore the people who are chiefly recognised by their religion, whose behaviour and intellect itself is dominated by the externals of that religion, must find it difficult to establish channels of intimate relationship with neighbours belonging to a different religion. Men often are unreasonable, but their unreason is as fluid in character as life itself; it is constantly mitigated by experience and education. But when religion stands against reason in the region which by right

belongs to the latter, then it becomes a fixed screen of darkness against all communication of light. Truth finds no permanent antagonism in our passion or stupidity, just as sunshine is not perpetually obstructed by mist. But when religion, with its own material and authority, builds a barricade against truth, then woe to the man who bend their knees to such a power, terrible because it is the power of light that has blinded itself. On the other side, a Hindu also is known by his speciality, which is not so much his religion as his social conventions. A Muhammadan is comparatively free in matters of his personal life, as to his food, companionship or occupation. Therefore he has more freedom of opportunity in the choice of his vocation than an orthodox Hindu. A narrow range of vocation not only entails for men their field of livelihood, but also limits their chance of coming into close touch with others in the active pursuit of common objects. Surrounded in his personal life by prohibitions of all kinds about the most insignificant details of his daily career, an orthodox Hindu lives insulted in the confinement of his conventional solitary cell. His is a world which has its one gate of entrance, the gate of birth, though those of departure are innumerable. The strict code of Hinduism is, in every way, inhospitable to the world at large, which cannot but react upon the mind of the orthodox Hindu by narrowing and deadening his human interest detracting from his power of forming great combinations.

We have to realise this in India, and know that the religion, chiefly based upon a fixed code of custom, which we have allowed to fasten upon the entire region of life, has been the one radical cause of the separateness of our races, and has made the cracks from which comes out the poisonous gas—degeneracy. The problem of untouchability is merely one of the numerous symptoms of this fatal malady. By suppressing these through external means we do not cure the disease. The thorny bushes of evil are overspreading over social soil, made barren by the obsession of a religion that insults reason. Uprooting a few of these will not help in improving the soil, the impoverishment of which is the real origin of our futility. Civilisation is that which gives individuals the best facility to deal with the greatest number of human beings in the noblest spirit of truth. Unfortunately for India, the latter development of Hinduism has been the product of a history of reaction. It represents the most powerfully organised effort of a people, not only to withdraw itself from contact with the

larger world, but also to separate its own component parts so that they become out of touch with each other. The greater portion of the world is branded by it with impunity. Defilement is waiting for it at every turn, against which its only security is the strict system of segregation built up by itself. In order to build this effectively it has not been content with forbidding its members to cross the sea, but has nearly obliterated from its annals and literature all men of foreign contact. For, though from Greek, Tibetan, Chinese and other sources we find materials for that great period of India's history when her influence transcended her geographical limits and spread civilisation over peoples completely alien to her own children we find no mention in the Indian scriptures about what those outside countries were to her, so much so that all the records of the greatest of India's sons were banished for centuries from her memory, till they were brought back to her by foreigners. The mentality produced by such a contemptuous ignoring of the world outside her own immediate surroundings, still persists in the life and culture of India's people. No doubt, in all parts of the world we have such restrictions of narrowness under different names. Societies in all the countries have their irrational conventions and traditions that have outlived their original meaning, clogging the path of human intercourse with incongruities. Everywhere such social holes and ditches are the breeding places of moral disease and callousness of heart. The latter-day orthodox Hinduism of our country, though free from militant aggressiveness is fatal in its effects on its votaries, for it has to kill the mind first in order to make it possible for human beings to accept such deprivation of freedom and outrage on dignity as are entailed by its prohibitions and exactions. Accustomed as we are to it, we may not feel the humiliation of such restriction of life and mind, or may even glorify it in our blind pride; but in these days when we are talking of nation-building, and uniting of the different Indian races, we must know the Hindus and Muhammadans can never effect any real union until we can cast off the shackles of our non-essentials, and free our mind from the grip of unmeaning dread of tradition."

CHAPTER III

POLITICS

Democracy is the Government in which every man has a natural part in the civic life as well as the cultural institutions of the state, an equal voice in the determination of law and policy and as much share in their execution as can be secured to him by his right as a citizen and his capacity as an individual besides his rights of freedom being guaranteed. Freedom of thought, speech and assembly were the earliest of human rights to which the freedom of press may now be added. The transference of all sovereign functions from one sovereign administrator or the few dominant executive to society as a whole organised into a state is the function of democracy.

CITY STATE

The city states of Greece, the regional states in ancient India and the village communities of mediaeval India contributed largely to the development of this democratic tendency in the early human mind even though such tendency existed from prehistoric times. In Rome the tendency was equally present but could not develop so rapidly or fulfil itself so entirely as in Greece or India because of the necessities of a military and conquering state. But the mediaeval Italian city state played a very great part not only in reviving this tendency but sowing it broad-cast over the whole of Europe in the age of Renaissance. In India the early communities were free societies in which the king was only a military head or civic chief. We find the democratic element persisting in the days of Buddha and Mahavira and surviving in small states in the reign of Chandragupta. It existed even when the great bureau-

cratically governed monarchies and empires were finally replacing the free earlier polity.

EARLY REPUBLICS

Dr. Sir K. G. Bhandarkar says in an article on oriental research in the Times of India :

"The Indian Aryans had, like their European brethren, the rudiments of few political institutions. When Kshatriya tribes settled in a province the name of the tribe in the place became the name of the province, and the Panchalas, Angas, Vangas, Vrijas etc., collectively became identified with the countries in which they lived. And actually the existence of aristocratic republics is alluded to in Buddhist Pali books."

Mr. Vincent A. Smith also says in the Early History of India at page 250 :

"The Punjab, Eastern Rajputana, and Malwa for the most part were in possession of tribes or clans. The Yandheya tribe occupied both banks of the Sutlej, while the Illadraks living under republican institutions held the central parts of the Punjab. In Alexander's time these regions were similarly occupied by autonomous tribes, then called the Malloi, Kathoioi, and so forth."

There were certain kingdoms in ancient India when the law of Primogeniture was not in force. The people elected their own chief who ruled over them either for life, or for a certain number of years, at the expiration of which he had to vacate his office. We have an account of a democracy like this in Buddhist records, which we cannot do better than reproduce here in Dr. Rhys David's words :

"When Buddhism arose there was no paramount sovereign in India. The kingly power was not, of course, unknown. There had been kings in the valley of the Ganges for centuries, long before Buddhism, and the time was fast approaching when the whole of India would be under the sway of monarchical governments. In those parts of India which came very early under the influence of Buddhism, we find, besides a still surviving number of small aristocratic republics,

four kingdoms of considerable extent and power.....And the tendency towards the gradual absorption of these domains, and also of the republics, into the neighbouring kingdoms, was already in full force. The evidence at present available is not sufficient to give us an exact idea either of the extent of the country or of the number of population, under the one or the other form of government; nor has any attempt so far been made to trace the history of political institutions in India before the rise of Buddhism. We can do no more, then, than state the fact—most interesting from the comparative point of view—that the earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics of either complete or modified independence. It is significant that this important factor in the social condition of India in the sixth and seventh centuries B. C. has remained hitherto unnoticed by scholars either in Europe or in India. They have relied for their information about the Indian peoples exclusively on the Brahman books and these, partly because of the natural antipathy felt by the priests towards the free republics, partly because of the later date of most of the extant priestly literature and especially of the law books, ignore the real facts. They convey the impression that the only recognised, and in fact universally prevalent, form of Government was that of kings under the guidance and tutelage of priests. But the Buddhist records, amply confirmed in these respects by the somewhat later Jain ones, leave no doubt on the point."

Says he in *Buddhist India* :—"The administrative and judicial business of the Sakya clan was carried on in public assembly, at which young and old were alike present in their common Mote Hall (Santhagara) at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament that King Pasenadis' proposition was discussed. When Ambattha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to the Mote Hall where the Sakyas were there in session. And it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to announce the death of the Buddha, they being then in session there to consider that very matter. A single chief, how and for what period chosen we do not know, was elected as office holder, presiding over the sessions, and if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of Raja which must have meant something like the Roman Consul or the Greek Archon."—Page 19.

"The local affairs of each village, were carried on in open assembly of the householders, held in the groves which, then as now,

formed so distinctive a feature of each village in the long and level alluvial plain".—Page 20.

"This jungle (Mahavana) was infested from time to time by robbers, sometimes runaway slaves. But we hear of no crime, and there was not probably very much in the villages themselves—each of them a tiny self-governed republic."—Page 21.

"There are several other names of tribes of which it is not yet known whether they were clans or under monarchical government. We have only one instance of any tribe, once under a monarchy, reverting to the independant state."—Page 23.

"There were revolutions leading to the declaration of independence by a tribe and the establishment of a republic. It is very interesting to notice that while tradition makes Vidya a kingdom in earlier times, it describes in the Buddha's time as a republic."—Page 26.

"Alexander found a succession of small kingdoms and republics whose mutual jealousies more than counterbalanced the striking bravery of their forces and enabled him to attack and defeat them one by one."—Page 268.

Dr. Hoernle says that Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, was born in an oligarchic republic. He says in the *Proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* No. II February, 1898. p. 40 "Vaisali is the modern Besali, about 27 miles north of Patna. Anciently it consisted of three distinct portions, called Vaisali, Kundagama and Vasrigama, and forming in the main, the quarters inhabited by the Brahman, Kshatriya and Baniya castes respectively..... While it existed, it had a curious political constitution; it was an oligarchic republic; its government was vested in a senate, composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans, presided over by an officer who had the title of King and was assisted by a Viceroy and a Commander-in-chief."

The extracts from various authors given above show that republics existed in India at least as early as the days of Buddha and Mahavira (6th century B. C.) and as late as the reign of Samudragupta (4th century B. C.) and that they were situated in the extensive tract of country stretch-

ing from the Punjab to Bihar and from Nepal to the southern borders of the Central Provinces. So the republican form of government in ancient India had a duration of at least 1000 years. We do not know of any other country, ancient or modern, where democracy has prevailed for a longer period. The Roman republic lasted for 500 years. The Athenian republic lasted for little more than 300 years. These countries which in ancient times were dotted over with small republics, are certainly not as extensive as the parts of India which in olden days could boast of many republics.

DIFFERENCE IN CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY.

Democracy in ancient times was not, however, like modern democracy. But in no country in the ancient world was there democracy in the modern sense. Democracy in modern times is a very different thing from what it was in its best days in Greece and Italy. Of representative government in the modern sense there is practically no trace in Athenian history, though certain of the Magistrates had a quasi-representative character. Direct democracy was impossible except in small states and the qualification for citizenship was rigorous. Formerly the state consisted merely of a body of burgesses limited in number but now it consists millions of men inhabiting extensive countries. Now slavery, serfdom and other restrictions are abolished. Freedom of conscience, freedom in the choice of one's residence and profession, have been more or less fully realised. There is progress towards the abolition of all privileged classes, and towards equality before the law. The distinctive features of the modern democracy are:— (1) the widest personal freedom, by which each man has the liberty and responsibility of shaping his own career; (2) equality before the law, and (3) political power in the form

of universal suffrage exercised through the representative system. These distinctive features seem to have existed neither in ancient India nor in ancient Europe.

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHS.

But the spirit of democracy may also exist in a more or less pronounced form even under a monarchical form of government. In Europe all monarchies were originally elective. Some Indian monarchies in the Vedic and post-Vedic periods were also elective in the same way. But neither in ancient Europe nor in ancient India, kings were effectively restrained in the exercise of their power by the voice of the people or of any representative assembly.

Those monarchs who ruled for life, were the supreme judges settling all disputes and punishing wrong-doers even with death. All other officials were appointed by them. They imposed taxes, distributed lands and erected buildings. In war they were the absolute leaders and they were also the religious heads of the communities. In some respects the Vedic assemblies appear to have had more power than their European counter-parts ; for they legislated to some extent and performed judicial work too. Constitutional monarchy in the modern sense is a growth of comparatively recent times, and did not exist either in ancient Europe or in ancient India. But as democracy in the modern sense did not exist in any country in ancient times, the comparison should be, not with the powers of democracy in modern republics and constitutional monarchies, but with ancient republics and monarchies. Take, for instance, England. There was the Witanagemot to restrict the powers of the English sovereign but the rebellions before the Magna Charta, the declaration of commonwealth and the Bill of Rights occurred because the kings never cared for the national assembly.

lies. So also in ancient India, there were assemblies, but the Kings might not have always respected their wishes. But the tendencies in the direction of democratic government did make progress in social integration, however feeble might have been the real power displayed. Crude and imperfect as such governments may be, they are better than the wisest of autocracies. Lester F. Ward, in his "Outlines of sociology," says: "Stupidity joined with benevolence is better than brilliancy joined with rapacity, and not only is autocracy always rapacious, but democracy is always benevolent."

THEOCRACY.

It is worthy of note that in India the state itself never became a theocracy. Firstly the ruler was never regarded as the head of religion; secondly, the primary object of the state was not spiritual salvation; 3rdly, law, mingled as it was with religion and morality, was the chief source of the authority of the state; and fourthly the political status of individuals was independent of their religious beliefs and convictions.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

"The great drawback of the state in ancient India was that the rights of man as man were not fully recognised. Individuals had rights and duties not as component parts of the body politic but as members of estates or classes in society."

EARLY COUNCILS

There were two kinds of assembly, the Samiti and Sabha. The popular assembly was a regular institution in the early years of the Buddhistic age. The rule of the majority was not unknown, and it was probable that the decisions of the majority prevailed. The council of minis-

sters (*mantri parishat*) was the chief administrative authority in the kingdom. It possessed immense powers, and enjoyed a great deal of independence. In exceptional cases it had even the power of electing the king. "In point of members," says Megasthenes, "it is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice." According to the *Nitivakyamrita*, "unanimity of opinion being difficult to obtain, the number of ministers should be uneven." "Though such ministers controlled the destinies of large kingdoms and extensive empires, they, as a rule, led very simple rules, and were renowned for their honesty, integrity and nobility of character." "The Parishats of olden days may be called legislative assemblies. Although their main business was to interpret—not to enact—laws, yet in performing their duty they, not un-often, changed the laws so as to bring them into greater harmony with the altered circumstances of changed times. The rules of conduct were not inflexible in ancient times, and the Parishats, while maintaining the infallibility of the Vedas and the Smrities considerably modified the spirit of the laws. The text-book writers in compiling the old laws of the country, greatly helped the process of change, and in later times the commentaries also contributed to the same result."

JUSTICE

The administration of justice bore several points of resemblance to the system now prevalent in civilised countries. The king, together with the chief justice (*Pradvivaka*) and three or four other judges (*Dharmikah*) formed the highest court of justice. It was, however, the chief justice, who in reality presided over the king's court even when the king was present, and had two sorts of jurisdiction, original and appellate. Next in importance to the king's court were the district courts, and below them were the village courts.

composed of the headman and the elders of the village. There was a regular mode of appeal from the decision of inferior courts to the superior courts. Trials were always held in public. The Sukraniti says "Neither the king nor the members of the judicial assembly should ever try cases in private."

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

In all Smritis, Vyawaharadhyaya (Chapter dealing with the administration of justice) has a section, Sambit Vyatikrama (non-performance of agreement), which is one of the 18 Vivadapadas (causes of legal action). The Sambit (agreement) is of two kinds :—

- (1) Rajakrita (laid down by the king) (2) Samuhakrita (laid down by the different public bodies).

The body of learned men created by the king is called Rajakrita Samudaya (body created by the king) and their prescribed course of duty is Rajakrita Sambit.

The body of learned men elected by the people is called Samuha or Samudaya and their prescribed course of duty is Samuhakrit Sambit.

RAJAKRIT SAMBIT.

(LOCAL BOARDS.)

Vrihaspati, as quoted in the *Viramitrodaya*, says: "Although the royal edict which created the body (Rajakrita Samudaya) simply enjoined its members to practise their moral and religious duties (Svadharmapalayam) they had nevertheless to do, at times, things of a secular and political nature. Their main duties were—(1) assisting towns-people in the discharge of all religious duties (daily, occasional and optional); (2) officiating in ceremonies; (3) giving authoritative decisions on doubtful points of

religion; (4) protecting grazing grounds and water courses; (5) looking after temples and other places of worship.

SAMUHAKRIT SAMBIT.

(MUNICIPALITIES.)

Vrihaspati and Yajnavalkya, as quoted in *Viramitrodaya*, say: "Villages, townships, guilds of merchants and mechanics, communities of Brahmans and heretics, and other bodies, should, when expecting common danger enter into an agreement among themselves for the protection of their common interests and the proper performance of their duties. The duties under their written agreements (*Yavaita-likhitam patu dharmya sa samayakriya*) were (1) The repair of public halls, prapas (wells, reservoirs), temples, tanks and gardens, the performance of the purificatory rites for the poor and the destitute, and arrangements for the cremation of dead paupers, distribution of gifts among the people desirous of performing religious acts and supporting people in times of famine and distress. The next step, after the execution of the agreement was to appoint executive officers (*Karyachintakas*) for the discharge of the duties specified in the agreement."

"The number of these officers," says Vrihaspati, "varied from two to five" (quoted in *Viramitrodaya* and *Vivadaratnakara*). Having regard to the area of an ordinary Indian town or village, the number cannot be said to have been inadequate for the management of its affairs. In the case of big towns, the number of executive officers or commissioners, as we might call them, appointed by the people, added to the number appointed by the king certainly sufficed for their requirements. These commissioners were responsible only to their electors, who could punish them in case of misconduct with fine, dismissal,

and even banishment from the area over which they held way. In such cases, they had simply to notify their decision to the king who accepted it as a matter of course.

Katyayana says:—

“That is to say, as is said by Vriṣṇu, he who (among the Mukhyas or headmen) is guilty of a serious criminal offence, who habitually creates disunion (among his colleagues) and who destroys public property—all of them should be removed, and the removed notified to the king.”

Vrihaspati says:—

“Headmen (commissioners) residing in towns and forts and managing the affairs of *Pugos* (mercantile and other guilds) *Srenies* (bodies of men following the same trade or profession) and *Ganas* (communities of Brahmans or of other people distinct from the *Srenies*) should punish wrong-doers by administering rebuke or censure, as well as with social ostracism and banishment. And the favour or disfavour, thus meted out by them (to the people), when in accordance with the precepts of religion and morality, should be accepted by the king; for general approval had already been accorded to whatever these might do (in the ordinary course of their duties).

Vivada Ratnakara quotes a passage from Vrihaspati which says that in cases of difference between the Mukhyas and the Samuhas, the king should interfere and compel each party to perform its respective duties. But the Viramitrodaya takes the passage as referring to the punishment in case of wrong-doing, of Mukhyas (commissioners) by the Samuhas (public bodies).

Local self-government was successful then on account of its entire freedom from the control and interference of

the king, except on very rare occasions and the public bodies enjoyed larger powers than similar bodies under British Rule.

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

There was self-government even in villages. The Archaeological Superintendent for 1904-1905 (p. 131-145) quotes the following rules for election for one of the village assemblies in the village of Uttaramallur Chatur-vedi-mangalam in the Chola country said to have been promulgated in A. D. 918-919 and 920-921.

- (1) (Lines 1-2) We in accordance with the royal command made a settlement as follows according to the terms of the royal letter for choosing one every year from this year forward (members for) the "annual committee" "Garden Committee" and "Tank committee." Their shall be 30 wards.
- (2) (Lines 2-3) In these wards, those that live i.e., each ward shall assemble and shall choose for 'pot tickets' (kuanolai) (any one possessing the following qualifications) :—
 - (a) He must own more than a quarter (Veli) of a tax-paying land.
 - (b) He must live in a house built in his own site.
 - (c) His age must be above 35 and below 70,
 - (d) He must know the Mantrabrahmana i.e., he must know it by teaching (others).
- (3) Even if one owns $\frac{1}{2}$ veli of land (he shall have) his name written on the pot ticket to be put into the (pot), in case he has learnt one Veda and one of the four Bhashyas by explaining (to others).
- (4) Among those (possessing the foregoing qualifications),
 - (i) Only such as are well conversant with business and are virtuous shall be taken.
 - (ii) One who possesses honest earnings, whose mind is pure, and who has not been on (any of) the com-

munities for the last 3 years shall also be chosen. (Lines 4-5) One who has been on any of the committees but has not submitted his accounts and all his relations specified below shall not have (their names) written on the pot-tickets and put into the pot.

1. The sons of the younger and elder sisters of his mother.
2. The sons of his paternal aunt and maternal uncle.
3. The Uterine brother of his mother.
4. The uterine brother of his father
5. His uterine brother.
6. His father-in-law.
7. The uterine brother of his wife.
8. The husband of his uterine sister.
9. The sons of his uterine sister.
10. The son-in-law who has married his daughter.
11. His father.
12. His son.

(5) (Lines 6-9) (A) "One against whom incest (Agamyagaman) or the first four of the 5 great sins are recorded :—

- (B) "All his relations above specified shall not have (their names) written on the pot tickets and put into (the pot).
- (C) "One who has been out-cast for association (with low people) shall not, until he performs the expiatory ceremonies, have his name chosen for the pot-ticket.
- (D) "One who is fool-hardy.....shall not have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot.)
- (E) "One who has stolen the property of others shall not have (his name) written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot).
- (F) "One who has taken forbidden dishes of any kind and who has become pure by performing the ghee expiation shall not to the end of his life have his name written on the pot-ticket to be put into (the pot) for the committees.

- (G) "One who has committed sins and has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies ;
- (H) "One who, having been a village pest, has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies.
- (I) "One who is guilty of incest and has become pure by performing expiatory ceremonies ; all those specified shall not, to the end of their lives, have (their names) written on the pot ticket to be put into (the pot) for any of the committees.

(6) (Lines 9-11) Excluding these thus specified, names shall be written for pot-tickets in the 30 wards, each of the wards in the 12 streets (of Uttaramallur) shall prepare a separate covering ticket for (each of the) 30 wards handled separately. (These tickets?) shall be put into a pot. When the pot-tickets have to be drawn, a full meeting of the great assembly including the young and old (members), shall be convened. All the temple priests (Nambimai), who happen to be in the village on the day, shall without any exception whatever, be caused to be seated in the inner hall, (where) the great assembly (meet). In the midst of temple, priests, one of them who happens to be the eldest, shall stand up and lift that pot, looking upwards so as to be seen by all people. One ward (i.e. the packet representing it) shall be taken out by any young boy standing close, who does not know what is inside, and shall be transferred to another (empty) pot and shaken. From this pot one ticket shall be drawn (by the young boy) and made over to the arbitrator (Madhyastha). While taking charge of the ticket thus given (to him) the arbitrator shall receive it on the palm of his hand with the five fingers open. He shall read out (the name on) the ticket thus received. The ticket read by him shall (also) be read out by all the priests present in the hall. The names thus read out shall be put down (and accepted). Similarly one man shall be chosen for (each of) the 30 wards.

(7) (Lines 11-13) Of the 30 men thus chosen, those who had (previously) been on the "garden committee" and on the "tank committee," those who are advanced in learning, and those who are advanced in age shall be chosen for the annual committee; of the rest, twelve shall be taken for the 'garden committee'; and the remaining six shall form the "tank committee." These two last committees shall be chosen by the Karai. The great men of these 3 committees thus (chosen) for them shall hold office for full 360 days and then retire. When one who is on the committees is found guilty of (any) offence, he shall be removed (at once). For appointing the committees after these have retired, the members of the "committee for the supervision of justice" in the 12 streets (of Uttaramallur) shall convene an assembly (kuri) with the help of the arbitrator. The committees shall be appointed by drawing pot tickets.....according to this order of settlement."

(8) (Lines 13-16) For the "Panchavara committee" and the "Gold committee" names shall be written for pot tickets in the 30 wards, thirty packets (with) covering tickets shall be deposited (in a pot) and 30 pot tickets shall be drawn (as previously described). From these 30 tickets 12 men shall be selected. Six out of 12 (thus) chosen shall form the "gold committee" and the remaining six the "panchavara committee". When drawing pot tickets for these two committees next year the wards which have been already represented (during the year in question) on these committees shall be excluded and the selection made from the remaining wards by drawing the Kari. One who has ridden on an ass and one who has committed forgery shall not have (his name) written on the pot ticket to be put (into the pot).

"Any Arbitrator who possesses honest earnest earnings shall write the accounts (of the village). No accountant shall be appointed to that office again before he submits his accounts (for the period during

which he was in office) to the great men of the ~~big~~ committee and (is declared) to have been honest. The accounts which one has been writing, he shall submit himself, and no other accountant shall be chosen to close his accounts.

- (9) (Line 16) "Thus from this year onwards, as long as the Moon and Sun endure, committees shall always be appointed by "pot-tickers" alone. To this effect was the royal letter received and shown (to us), graciously issued by the Lord of Gods, the emperor, one who is fond of learned men, the wrestler with elephants, the crest jewel of heroes, whose acts (gifts) (resemble those of the celestial tree, the glorious Parakesarivarman.)"
- (10) (Lines 16-17) At the royal command Karanjai Kondaya Karmavittabhattam alias Somasiperuman of Srivanganagar in Purangaramabhai Nadu (a district of the Chola country) sat with (us) and thus caused (this settlement) to be made."
- (11) (Lines 17-18) We the (members of the) assembly of Uttaramallur chaturvedimangalam, made (this) settlement for the prosperity of our village in order that wicked men may perish and the rest may prosper.

At the order of the great men sitting in the assembly, I the arbitrator Kadadipottan-Sivakkuri-Rajamalla-Mangalapriyan thus wrote the settlement. "It is interesting to observe that ladies were eligible for election, and a lady was a member of a committee of justice (Report for 1910, section 35, page 98). Other village assemblies appear to have consisted of cultivators and merchants. The archaeological superintendent surmises that the same rules applied to them except knowledge of the Vedas (Report 1912-1913 p. 98).

SOCIAL LIFE IN CITY STATES

As in the political and civic life so in the social life the tendency towards democracy manifested itself. The natural social type of the small community is such as we see in Athens, where not only Cleon the tanner exercised as strong a political influence as the high born and wealthy

Nicias and the highest offices and civic functions were open to men of all classes, but in social functions there was a free association and equality. We see a similar democratic equality, though of a different type in the earlier records of Indian civilisation ; the rigid hierarchy of castes with the pretensions and arrogance of the caste-spirit were a later development. In the simpler life of old, difference or even superiority of function did not carry with it a sense of personal or class superiority ; and at the beginning the most sacred, religious and social function that of the Rishi and sacrificer, seems to have been open to men of all classes and occupations. Later on caste and absolute kingship grew in force *pari passu* like the church and the monarchical power in mediaeval Europe under the compulsion of the new circumstances created by the growth of large, social and political aggregates. The theory some Historians hold that the governments of ancient monarchies in India were pure autocracies tempered by the influence of the Brahman priesthood is no longer tenable.

THEORY OF STATE

The commonly accepted notion is that the Hindus considered state as divine and the monarch *de facto* as the absolute repository of such Divine right. There can be nothing more which is farther from truth. Even in the days of the epics in Aryan India when the spirit of speculation and philosophy was barely perceptible, we find that the origin of the state and of the authority of the king was a matter on which a good deal of thought had been bestowed by writers. In the Mahabharata for instance, in the Shanti parva, Rajadharma section we have in the beginning this very question asked by Yudhistira of Bhishma:—

“Whence is this word Rajan (King) derived and whence the power of the King to rule over others, mortal

as he is, having like other men two hands and two eyes only and with no better intelligence?"

Bhishma replied :—" In the Krita Age, there was no king and all people were free and observed Dharma of their own free accord. After a time however, coming under the influence of anger, greed and desire they began to transgress Dharma and do all sorts of sinful acts. By the spread of sinfulness the gods suffered and they prayed Brahma to remedy the evil. Brahma thereon composed a vast treatise on Dandaniti or the rules of protecting the people by means of punishment and taught it to Shankara, who gave it to Indra, who again gave it to Brihaspati, who condensed the treatise into 3,000 chapters. This work is known as Brihaspatiniti. Shukra again condensed it into 1000 chapters. Prajapathi gave the shastra to Ananga, who ruled the earth in accordance with it. His son Atibala followed him, but his son Vena transgressed the rules, oppressed the earth and gave free scope to his love and hate. The Rishis therefore killed him and from his right thigh they created a son called Prithu the son of Vena. The Brahmans and the gods said to him :—" Rule the earth according to this law, without love or hate and even-handed towards all beings. Promise also that you will not punish the Brahmins and that you will prevent the intermixture of castes. Prithu promised to do so and ruled the earth righteously. The Brahmins and the gods accordingly gave him their best things. He removed stones from the surface of the earth and made it give forth the seventeen kinds of grass and other plants which are required by men, Yakshas, and others. He was called a Rajan (King) because he pleased the people. Vishnu himself told him that no body would transgress his orders and by his tapa, Vishnu himself entered into the body of the King. It is therefore that the world bows to a king as to a god.

A king is born with the knowledge of Dandaniti and the spirit of Vishnu."

This attempt to give a mythical significance to a rational speculation is no doubt characteristic of Indian thinkers. From this it is clear that the source of sovereign power lay ultimately in the will of the people. It can be shown that, that is the settled belief of Indians by a similar passage from the Ramayana where the authority of public opinion and the duty of the sovereign to consult it are laid down in equally clear terms. Addressing the assembled citizens whom he had convened to his council chamber, King Dasaratha asked their consent to the crowning of Rama in the following terms :—

" For a very long time I have borne this huge garb of State and its attendant cares of guiding aright the fate of the millions under me upon the narrow path of Dharma and I must be allowed a respite. If the saintly Brahmins here, my friends and my people give their unqualified assent to my proposal, I mean to place my son in charge of the kingdom and enjoy a short period of quiet. Rama my first born, whom I have fixed upon to take my place as heir-apparent has the valour of Indra and his skill, and before him fall like ripened headed corn the foemen's cities and their pride. He takes after me in all godly graces and excellences, he is the foremost champion of Right; he is the prince of men for power and might, radiant beyond comparison, even as the full orb'd moon in his glorious mansion of the constellation Pushya, I have set my heart upon crowning him as heir-apparent on the auspicious day when the moon is in conjunction with Pushya. Of boundless glory, Rama, the elder brother of Lakshmana is worthy lord of this, my kingdom and of you, my faithful subjects. The three worlds will rejoice in

peace and prosperity under the shadow of his mighty arm. Grant me to make him your king. Grant me to make over to him this weighty crown and its attendant responsibilities, it will be the dawn of a happy era for the earth, and my heart will grow young with joy indescribable. I pray, you will give your well-thought consent to it only if it seems to you that I have formed this plan after mature deliberation, only if the act would be crowned with happy success. But should it seem to you otherwise, pray, advise me the wiser course. It may be that this seems right in my eyes; but I am sure that greater good will come of it if I take counsel with you who are moved soully by considerations of the common weal."

POLITICAL CONCEPTIONS

The conception of the king as the servant of the state was one of the basic principles of political thought in ancient India." The Sukraniti says "Brahma created the king to be the servant of his subjects, and he is remunerated by a share of the produce. He assumes the character of king only for protecting his subjects." Again "if the king is an enemy of virtue, morality and power, and is unrighteous in conduct, the people should expell him as a destroyer of the state." The idea of an autocratic ruler was not very congenial to the Hindu mind. The king in India was never regarded as being above law. At no time was the royal power, in theory at least quite absolute. The Mahabharata derives the word Rajan from 'Ranj' to please. Among the kingly duties, as enumerated in the great epic are (1) to please the people (2) to protect them and (3) always to seek their welfare.

That the power of the king was thus not absolute but was guided and controlled by the will of the people was thus a proposition frequently stated but another pro-

position which occurs quite as often in Indian literature is that the authority of the king is divine, that he is an embodiment of the power of Vishnu, the protector and that his commands must be obeyed. That the will of the people coalesced with the will of god is this not a maxim which the French Revolution handed to us in the phrase "Vox populus vox die." (Jana Vakyam Kartavyam). The passage from the Mahabharata which is cited above will show how the will of the people obtained the sanction of God and vested the power of God in the person of the sovereign for the good of the people. The progress from the popular origin of sovereign authority to the absolutist and divine pretensions of kings and monarchs was apparently the same in India and western countries and apologists for the absolutism of the king went on a similar track for justifying autocratic authority. The deligation of kingly authority from Vishnu or from god had constantly to be reinforced by a deligation of the Kingly authority by the people themselves to the sovereign in perpetuity. The social contract theories which flourished in the west up till recent times have had their counterpart in India. In the Mahabharata again in Shantiparva it is narrated. "It is stated that formerly mankind suffered on account of their being no king (ie) as the 18th century philosophers will say a state of nature. They therefore by common consent made the following rule. "He who reviles or strikes another or seduces the wife or seizes the property of another should be expelled." But the rule could not be enforced and the people being harassed went to Prajapati and asked for a ruler, whom they would all respect if he would protect them. Brahma directed Manu to rule the people, but Manu declined saying that he was afraid of committing sin, as to rule others, especially men who are sinful was an extremely difficult task. But the

people said to Manu "Do not be afraid. Sin will fall on those who commit it. We shall pay you one-fifteenth part of our cattle and our gold and one tenth of our corn with one fair girl at every marriage season; the principal men will attend on you with arms. Rule thus then strong and happy and we shall give you a fourth part of the religious merit we earn." 'Manu accepted the offer and started with them in refulgence and strength. He destroyed all enemies and compelled men to follow Dharma. A people therefore should always elect a king for their good.' The idea of a covenant between Manu and men, the one promising to enforce Dharma and the other promising to pay taxes in consideration of protection and justice, is indeed a noble one, but as a matter of fact it has rarely guided the acts of despotic rulers whether in India or outside.

Let us see how similar ideas developed in the West. When the traditions of the Roman Republic which maintained the legislative supremacy belonged to the people meeting in their *comitia* was forgotten by centuries of disuse and the famous jurists of Justinian days formulated in their Digest, their theory as to the source of Emperor's sovereignty. They began by recognising the Emperor as the person who actually possessed legislative power, but they deduced his rights from a delegation by the people of their rights and perhaps as Professor Bryce points out a delegation not in perpetuity to the imperial office but to each individual Emperor in succession. A similar state of things seemed to have existed, in India too, for in some works prior to the Epic period in the Atharva Veda, it is recited that each ruler should be crowned with the assent of the people, and on the occasion of the coronation undertook to rule justly.

Beosle in his "Buddhistic records of the Western World" (Vol 1 pp. 210-212) writes about the election of the Emperor Harsha:

"The people having lost their ruler, the country became desolate. Then the great minister Po-ni (Bhandi), whose power and reputation were high and of much weight, addressing the assembled ministers said: 'The destiny of the nation is to be fixed today. The old King's son is dead. The brother of the prince, however, is humane and affectionate and his disposition, heaven conferred, is dutiful and obedient. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assume the royal authority; let each one give his opinion on this matter, whatever he thinks.' They were all agreed on this point, and acknowledged his conspicuous qualities. On this, the chief ministers and magistrates all exhibited him to take authority- 'Let the royal princes attend! The accumulated merit and the conspicuous virtue of the former king were so illustrious as to cause his kingdom to be most happily governed..... The opinion of the people, as shown in their songs, proves the real submission to your eminent qualities. Reign then with glory over the land; conquer the enemies of your family; wash out the insult laid on your kingdom, and the deeds of your illustrious father. Great will be your merit in such a case. We pray you reject not our prayer.'" The prince replied: "The Government of a country is a responsible office, and ever attended with difficulties. The duties of prince require previous consideration. As for myself, I am indeed of small eminence, but as my father and brother are no more, to reject the heritage of the crown—that can bring no benefit to the people. I must attend to the opinion of the world, and forget my own insufficiency."

When Sakuntala went to Dushyanta with her son to his capital the king did not accept her, being evidently afraid of the opinion of his subjects. A voice from Heaven declared, in the hearing of all his court that she was his wife and the son his. Then Dushyanta prayed for the consent of his people whether he could accept them as such. They all agreed. (Mahabharata Sambhava Parva cha. 74).

King Yayati nominated his fifth and youngest son, Puru as his heir ignoring the claims of the elder four. When this became

known to his people they remonstrated with him. He had to satisfy them as to the righteousness of the step he had taken. The eldest son Yadu, son of Devayani. The second son Turbasu. The third son Drahya, son of Sarmistha. Fourth son Anu. Fifth son Puru. The people said, "O King! act according to the precepts of religion." Yayati said, "Hear all of you why my kingdom should not be given to my eldest son." Puru is a great friend of mine and he did what was agreeable to me and Sukra himself granted me this boon. The son who would obey me would become the king and the lord of the Earth. Therefore I entreat you let Puru be installed on the throne." The People said "O King! it is true that the son who is accomplished and who seeks the good of his parents deserves all prosperity though he is the youngest." Therefore Puru who has done good to you deserves to have the kingdom." Vaishampayana said: "Having been thus addressed by the contented people, Yayati installed his son Puru on the throne. (Mahabharata Sambhava Parva Ch. 85) Similar wishes of the people were expressed when Yudhishthira was installed on the throne at Indraprastha as Yuvaraj, (Jatugriha Parva Ch. 143.)

When again Yudhishthira and his four brothers went to Varanavata as the result of the machinations of the wicked Kauravas they expressed their dissent. Then Yudhishthira addressed: "You are our friends, walking round us and making us happy with your blessings, return to your homes. When the time comes for anything to be done by you then accomplish all that is agreeable and beneficial to us." They then returned to the city.

But both in ancient Rome and ancient India the non-exercise of the will of the people and the actual practice of absolute government on the part of the Emperors, introduced a change in the conception of what was popular will. As the Emperor Julian said, "What difference does it make whether the people declare its will by voting or by its practice, acts and customs, seeing that the laws themselves bind us only because they have been approved by the people." To the institutes of Rome or the Smṛitis and

Neetisastras of India were thus added the customs of the people? and customary law has since been accepted as possessing an authority above written law until actual legislation by which the sovereign varies it. Thus, while to thinkers and cultivated people, a limitation of sovereignty by the ultimate will of the people was a political concept of accepted authority, but to the people inhabiting distant parts of extensive empires, to whom the visible authority of the ruler's officers was the outward symbol of protection and peace and to whom the might of the Emperor was the only available test of his right, the suggestion of a Divine power encircling the irresistible power of the conqueror or ruler who founded Empires and extended territories was a most natural one. The feeling, therefore, that the power actually supreme in a state has received divine sanction by being permitted to prevail, that it has thereby become rightful and that being rightful, it claims full obedience, came to be inculcated in political writings which soon profoundly swayed the minds of men in Europe. It was by a similar process that text writers in ancient India gradually threw into the background the theory of origin of sovereign authority in the will of the people and by treating the actual sovereign as the repository of divine authority, stripped such power of all limitations and conditions.

But in the later evolution of theories of sovereignty and of doctrines of Divine Right, Indian conceptions made a most significant reservation which theories in the West did not do. During the times of mediaeval theologians and of the political philosophers the idea that sovereignty or Magistas as the highest power in the state, which is subject to no laws, but is itself the maker and master of them, had become the accepted assumption of apologists,

for autocrats as well as panegyrists of popular sovereignty all of whom evolved their own theories of the original social contract between the sovereign and the people. In India, however, no king, however divine, was above the law and this law was laid down in codes whose authority to this day might have remained unquestioned in the domain of politics by Hindu kings as they have remained unquestioned in the domain of the social and religious life of the community. Of course the codes were many and the commentaries thereon innumerable. The pundits were also men of the world and knew how to discard obsolete customs or precepts in the codes and how to justify new ones by the letter of the Divine law. Yet the theory has remained unquestioned that the codes whose powers are claimed to lie in the Vedas which constitute the revealed knowledge of the Hindus, are as abiding on monarchs as upon subjects, ie., that no Hindu king is above the law. Western Europe has only in recent years discarded the absolute theories of sovereignty which Austin petrified in England and began to give more authority to the value of written constitutions and fundamental laws of the State than the speculations of rationalist philosophers permitted in the earlier years. It is to the credit of the speculative mind of the Hindus that it long ago perceived the necessity of recognising the existence of limitations to the absolute authority of the State, over and beyond what is called the normal right to resist gross mis-government.

The democratic tendency received a set-back when the Empire idea flourished, be it in ancient times or in modern times. It must be remembered that a greater social or political unity is not necessarily a boon in itself. It is worth pursuing only if it provides a means and a framework for a better, richer, more happy and puissant individual and collective life. But hitherto the experience of

mankind is otherwise. It would seem rather that collective life is more at ease with itself, more genial, varied, fruitful when it concentrated itself in small spaces and simpler organisms. Modern Europe owes two-thirds of its civilisation to 3 such supreme moments of human history: Firstly the religious life of the congress of tribes called Israel; secondly the manysided life of the small Greek city states; and thirdly the similar, though more restricted, artistic and intellectual life of midiaeval Italy. Nor was any age in Asia so rich in energy, so well worth living in, so productive of the best and most enduring fruits as that heroic period of India when she was divided into small kingdoms. Her most wonderful activities, her most vigorous and enduring work belonged to that period; the second best came afterwards in larger, but still comparatively small, nations and kingdoms like those of the Pallavas, Pandyas, Cholas and Cheras. In comparison she received little from the greater empires that rose and fell within her borders, the Moghul, the Gupta or the Mourya—little indeed except political and administrative organisation and a certain amount of lasting work not always of the best quality. Nevertheless in this regime of the small city state there was always a defect which compelled a tendency towards larger organisations on account of their defencelessness against the attack of larger organisations and of an insufficient capacity for widespread material well-being. So these city states gave place to the larger organisation of empires and nation states.

EMPIRES

In a nation we have a richer life than in an empire. Collective life diffusing itself into vast spaces seems to lose intensity and productiveness. Europe has lived in England, France, German states, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands.

Modern civilisation evolved itself in the nation state but not in the huge mass of the Holy Roman Empire or the moribund Russian Empire. The unproductiveness, isolation, lethargy and stagnancy in Asia was due to the presence of large empires which existed till very recent times. But a Nation state combines all the advantages of a city state as well as an Empire state. It lacks the disadvantages of the small weak city state and of the colossal empire state.

AN ILLUSTRATION.

The Roman Empire is often selected by English statesmen as the model for the development of the British Indian Empire. The advantages of an empire are admirable organisation, peace, widespread security, order and material well-being. The disadvantage is that the individual, the city, the province, sacrifice their independent life and become mechanical parts of a huge machine. Life loses its vitality, richness, variety, freedom and incentive for noble actions. The Empire organisation is great and admirable but the individual dwindles and is overpowered and overshadowed. Eventually by the smallness and feebleness of the individual, the huge organism inevitably and slowly loses even its great conservative vitality and dies of an increasing deterioration. Thus the empire state hinders growth of life in human society.

What then are the causes that led to the decline of the Roman Empire?

The Roman effected his sway by military conquest. Whenever he conquered he introduced a good, efficient, and benevolent government, made acceptable to the conquered peoples. But he blotted out wherever he conquered the sense of a separate nationality. He admitted the Latins as well as every other conquered people to the highest military and civil offices in the state and even to

the imperial purple. Within a century after Augustus, first a Gaul and then a Spaniard became Caesars. He proceeded rapidly to deprive all the vitality in the people and he abolished even apparently all the grades of civic privilege and extended indiscriminately the full Roman citizenship to all Roman subjects whether they be Asian, European or African. The result was that the whole Empire became one, not only politically but also psychologically. On account of the Roman good government the subject peoples became firmly attached to the Roman Empire. The Roman had another advantage over the Britisher and that is the geographical unity of the Empire. So far the Roman succeeded. Where he failed it was due to the inherent vice of his methods. He crushed out, however peacefully, the living cultures or the incipient individuality of the nations he ruled. He deprived the nations themselves of vitality, and therefore though he removed all positive causes of disruption and secured a passive force of opposition to all disruptive changes, his empire lived only at the centre and when the centre tended to become exhausted there was no real and abundant vitality throughout the body from which it could reinforce itself. Ultimately Rome could not even depend for a supply of vigorous individuals from the peoples whose life she had pressed out under the weight of her superimposed civilisation. She had to draw on the frontier barbarians. Rome was conquered by those barbarians but not by the old peoples, under her sway. When the Roman grasp loosened the world which it had so firmly constructed, there had been for a long time a huge decorous death-dance in the countries occupied by Rome which were incapable of new organisation or self-regeneration. Vitality could only be restored through the inrush of the vigorous barbarian from the forests of Germany, the steppes beyond the Da-

nube and the deserts of Arabia. Dissolution had to precede a movement of sounder construction. It is needless to say a more or less similar policy is followed by the British in India. As the vitality in the people living in the plains is diminishing the Britisher is compelled to reinforce his armies from the barbarian hordes in the North-West Frontier. The Wazir, the Mahsud, the Afridi, the Ghurukha and the Sikh are sterner fighters than the people already conquered and emasculated to whom even defensive weapons are denied except under a license granted by the whim of the District Magistrate. The Indians are for over a century mere quill-drivers. A nation of warriors is converted into a human aggregate of clerks. The helplessness of the people in Malabar and the Punjab when the rowdy element broke out in those parts is within the living memory of every one of the present generation. The same story is repeated to a more or less extent in almost all the empires that flourished and decayed on this planet.

If the old City states had endured and modified themselves so as to form larger nations without losing their own life, many problems might have been solved with greater simplicity. But now those very problems have to be settled by an intricate and difficult method under peril of innumerable dangers and extensive convulsions.

DEFECTS IN CITY STATES.

The life in the City state had vital defects, which it could not cure. In the case of the Greek City states two great defects were found. The first defect is that all the people could not participate in the full civic and cultural life of the community. That participation was denied to the *slave* and hardly granted at all in the narrow life conceded to the *woman*. In India the institution of slavery was absent and the woman had at first a freer and more digni-

fied position than in Greece and Rome; but the slave was soon replaced by the proletariat, the Shudra, and the increasing tendency to deny the highest benefits of the common life and culture to the Shudra and the woman, brought down the Indian society to the level of its Western congeners. It is possible that these two great problems of economic serfdom and the subjection of woman might have been attacked and solved in the early City state or regional state if it had lived longer. It is now to be attacked and solved in the modern Nation State. The other defect in those City states was their inability to solve the question of inter-relations between community and community. War remained their normal relation. All attempts at free federation failed and military conquest was left as the sole means of unification. The attachment to the small aggregate in which each man could maintain his individuality had generated a sort of mental insularity which could not accomodate itself to the new and wider ideas which political thought and philosophy moved by the necessity of larger needs and tendencies had brought into the field of life. Therefore the old City states had to dissolve and disappear in India into the huge bureaucratic empires of the Gupta and the Maurya to which the Pathan, the Mogul and the Englishman succeeded. This is enhanced by the conquest of Alexander who brought the Western model of an Empire state into India. In the West the City states were absorbed by the vast military and commercial expansions achieved by Alexander, by the Carthaginian Oligarchy and by the Roman Empire.

ASIA AND EUROPE

Both Asia and Europe are equally guilty in propagating the Empire idea rivalling each other from very early times. The Greek and the Roman, had struggled

for mastery over oriental peoples. In the 5th century the Huns from Central Asia carried fire and sword into the heart of Europe and settled themselves in Hungary. Later on the Arabs conquered Spain and poured across the Pyrenees to be smitten by Charles the Hammer and retained for a very long time a large portion of Spain. Then followed the 2nd Tartar Invasion when the Mongols attacked Vienna but were repulsed by the Hungarians. Finally the Ottoman Turks from the plains of Turkestan rivalling the military success of the Arabs captured the whole of the Byzantine Empire. Now we have the colonial empires of the British, the French and the Dutch in Asia the results of the maritime supremacy of these European nations.

Thus the City states had failed and the Empire states followed suit. Naturally man turns to a golden mean; between the two—the Nation-State which is the common type of State that is developing to-day in Europe as well as in Asia. At the present stage of human development the nation is the really living collective unit of humanity. Empires exist but they are as yet only political and not real units. They have no life from within and owe their continuance to a force imposed on their constituent elements or else to a political convenience felt or acquiesced in by the constituents and favoured by the world outside.

CAUSES FOR NATION—STATE

The hardships endured by foreign domination in an Empire-state created and enhanced the process of nation-making. History affords us many illustrations. But in some cases the phenomenon of foreign domination is momentary and imperfect, in others long enduring and complete, in others often repeated in various forms. In some cases the foreign element is rejected, its use being

once over. In others it is absorbed ; in some others it is accepted with more or less assimilation for a longer or briefer period as a ruling caste. The principle is the same, but works variously in various countries according to the needs of the particular country. There is none of the modern nations in Europe which has not had to pass through a phase more or less prolonged, more or less complete, of foreign domination in order to realise its nationality. In Russia and England it was the domination of a foreign conquering race which rapidly became a ruling caste and was in the end assimilated and absorbed. In Spain it was the succession of the Roman, the Goth and the Moor ; in Italy it was the overlordship of the Austrian. In the Balkans it was the long suzerainty of the Turk ; in Germany it was the transient yoke of Napoleon.

STAGES OF NATION—STATE

The Nation-state in Europe passed through 3 stages. The first stage was a loose political union as in the days of the feudal system. The 2nd stage is a movement of unification and of increasing uniformity by the creation of a metropolitan centre, by the growth of absolute sovereignty, and by the creation of church authority. But feudalism, monarchy and church authority were substituted by a new movement directed towards the diffusion of the national life through a strong, well-organised political, legal, social and cultural freedom and equality.

The 3rd stage enjoyed the advantages of unity and sufficient uniformity and also the individual liberty characteristic of the city-state.

By these gradations of national progress a federated nation, based securely upon a fundamental and well-realised psychological unity, was effected.

INDIA—A NATION-STATE

English historians and politicians say that India is a vast continent, sheltering warring and contiguous races professing conflicting religions, speaking different languages and possessing no common bond of unity or fellowship. The error in their reasoning is apparent. In spite of all that is said against us we are a Nation. As a result of the rise of Nation-States, the word 'nation' is many times used where State is meant. The Nation is an ethical concept, or better, a cultural concept, and consists of a portion of mankind united by other than mere political ties whereas the state is a political concept consisting of a portion of humanity united in one body politic. A state is sometimes composed of a number of Nations, parts of them as the British Commonwealth of to-day or the Russian Empire of old. The Russian Empire has been a congeries of nations—Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia (all Slavic), all Finland (Finnish), Turkestan (Asian). But all these formed a single state. A Nation is sometimes split into a number of states. The chief difference between Nation and State is that a Nation may exist without territory and government. Nation is a psychological unity whereas a state is a political unity. Nation is an organism. State is a mechanism. Belgium under German domination had neither territory nor government but they were a nation. Poland, though torn by Germany, Austria and Russia, is a nation though it ceased to exist as an independent State. Empires are perishable political units but the nation persists, travails and suffers but refuses to be annihilated. The Greeks Roumanians, Bulgarians and Albanians ceased to be independent states so long as they were under the Ottoman yoke but they preserved their nationalities all throughout. Similarly the Italians under Austria, though ceased to exist as a separate state, preserved their nationality. India is a

land of many states but of one nationality. The whole country from the Himalayas to cape Comorin is bound by one cultural tie. The culture which expresses itself in art, philosophy and literature is the same in every part of the country. The people held in great veneration the numerous rivers that water the different parts of the country and they associate the great mountains with the sacred memories of the past. The seats of learning at the ancient Taxila, Benares, Amroati, and Nalanda had attracted men from all parts of the country and made them feel as members of the same national organism. The Muhammadan also contributed his share to the culture of India. Their influence can be traced in arts such as painting, sculpture, architecture and in literature. They encourage the ideas of political unity. The dynasty that had been founded by Baber ruled for a very long time keeping a great portion of India as one state. The Nation-state came into existence after many failures and false successes. The psychological motive of patriotism, a sign of the growth of a conscious national ego, arose in this frame of Nation-State as the expression of its soul and the guarantee of its durability. For the Nation idea arises from circumstances to which the peoples of the earth were mere victims. It is evolved in a peculiar environment of geographical and historical necessity but does not grow from anything inherent in our vital nature. If the circumstances which created it are removed it may collapse. Our immediate motives and psychological needs grow out of our vital necessities and instincts. The family idea and the tribal idea grow out of our primary vital needs in our being and our instinct of gregariousness. They readily become our psychological needs and immediate motives. The necessities of a Nation-State are (1) the physical unity of a common country to live in and defend, (2) a common economic life dependent on that geographi-

cal oneness and (3) the sentiment of the motherland which grows up around the physical and economical fact creating and protecting political unity. In all Nation-States there is a geographical unity with either a community of interests, political and economical, or a community of religion and philosophy or a community of literature and culture or a community of traditions and history. The Nation-State has, like the individual, 3 bodies. For the *Sthula Sarira*, the physical body, the geographical unity. For the *Sukshma Sarira*, the astral body, a common life and vital interest in the constituents of the body. For the *Karma sarira* the mental body, a conscious sentiment of unity and a centre of governing organ through which the common ego can realise itself and act.

GEOGRAPHICAL UNITY.

For the existence of a Nation-State the idea of a geographical unity is an absolute necessity. Prof. Radhakumuda Mukherji has written a book "The Fundamental unity of India" in which he has clearly stated that amidst various seeming and superficial differences India is essentially one in her traditions, in the out-look of her peoples and their general capabilities. Behind all the diversity of races and creeds there has been in India all through the ages a unity both in political conception and social structure which has steadily governed the history and fortunes of this great country. If a constitution signifies according to its modern definition, a set of laws or principles which concern the political structure of an organised society, it seems to me that India as a whole, subject no doubt to minor qualifications, has been conceived of as an organised society from the earliest days. Among the earliest Hindu Rulers and princes as well as with the great Mahomedan and Mogul Emperors of mediaeval times the conception of the whole of

India as a geographical unit was a widely prevalent one and was far from being a mere aspiration on their part as the aspiration of some European world conquerors towards a world empire. India was a geographical unit even amidst a variety of physical conditions. That in itself is a pre-disposing cause at all times to its conception as a political unit. But from the earliest times the political unity of India has been sought to be attained by the able rulers Hindu or Mahomedan, by the establishment of a sway, unitary as well as federal on their part, over the whole country. This conception of political unity pervaded not merely in the minds of kings and rulers, but also in the minds of the people of this country in all its parts and it is proved by the persistence of the same fundamental social conceptions, institutions and culture which are found as common among the people in the extreme south of the peninsula as they are among those in the extreme north. Sir Herbert Rishy has rightly observed : "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion, which strikes the observer in India, there can still be discerned, as Mr. Yousuf Ali has pointed out, a certain underlying uniformity." One aspect of this unity has been thus explained by Monier Williams in his book "Hinduism." "India though it has, as we have seen, more than 500 spoken dialects, has only one sacred language, only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank and creed. That language is Sanskrit, and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the 'Veda' or 'knowledge' in its widest sense—the only vehicle of Hindu Theology, Philosophy, Law and Mythology, the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite material may be obtained

for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." The census commissioner, Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.S., has also recorded the same conclusion: "The people of India as a whole can be distinguished from those of Europe by certain broad characteristics. While, according to Mr Vincent A. Smith speaking from his long and first-hand experience of India, the civilisation of India has many features which differentiate it from that of all other religions of the world, they are common to the whole country or rather continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human social and intellectual development."

A COMMON LIFE.

The common social conceptions and political institutions of the country evince that a common life animated the country as a whole. In the various text books on polity of the early Hindu period and at a time when it might be said the idea of common political unity was likely to have declined and the multiplication of petty principalities was the general order of things in the days of the Nitisaras of Sukra and Kamandaka, of the Arthashastra of Kautilya, we find that these text writers did not draw a mere theoretical picture of the Samarat, the Chakravarti, the king of kings, who brought the various kingdoms of the Indian peninsula under one umbrella—as it was metaphorically described—but recorded only what was known to them to have existed as a fact both by knowledge and tradition of the Empires which Bharata and Yudhis-thira in ancient days, Chandragupta and Asoka in later days established throughout the Indian peninsula. A dispassionate study of the historical literature of the ancient period in India should go far to dispel the notion that

India was a mere aggregate of peoples and races living in confused mass of kingdoms and governments. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the Premier of England, has put the whole question in a nut-shell in his introduction to the Fundamental Unity of India. "Perhaps it might be contended that though, during the Hindu period of Indian History there were certain social and political features common to all parts of India which were essentially in Hindu character, still such characteristics must have disappeared or ceased to have much effect on the political evolution of the country after it was overrun by succeeding generations of invaders from the north-west, by Mahomedans and Moguls, and was brought under the sway of a European power from overseas. The essential political conceptions of the Hindu period survived during the days of the Muhammadan conquest and empire. The Muhammadan conquest added other conceptions and out of them both have grown administrative principles and policies which amidst the clash of arms and changes of dynasties in the various parts of India, still underlie the existing schemes of administration and government in the country."

THE CLEFT UNDER TURKISH RULE.

During Turkish rule the aim of the administrators was not the welfare of the subjects but power and wealth. Sir Alfred Lyall gives us an idea what the Turkish conquest of India actually accomplished, what it uprooted and what it maintained. "The kings of the earlier Mahomedan dynasties in northern India pierced the country from end to end by rapid, rushing invasions, plundering and ravishing, breaking the idol and the beautifully sculptured temples—Buddhist and Brahman—but so long as the object of these incursion, was mere booty or fanatical slaughter, the ancient principalities merely bided their time and asserted,

themselves once again after the invader had withdrawn to his fastnesses beyond the frontier"—or to his capital at Delhi after he became established in the country. Such administrative machinery as was established in consequence of the conquests of Mahomedan rulers in India prior to the Mogul period was of a semi-military type and its nature has been described as that of government by military camps by Colonel Malleson in his biographies of Baber and Akbar.

COMMON MENTALITY.

When the Mughal hold on the country became more consolidated and Akbar became not a foreign potentate established in India, but a national sovereign, the fortunes of whose dynasty became identified with the progress of the country, the principles of government established in the country did not differ in essentials from that which imperial dominion in India should have been based on in the ancient Hindu period. With religious bigotry put into the shade, with Hindu and Muhammadan kings and Hindu and Muhammadan satraps owning the sway of the Mogul emperor in all parts of the peninsula the political unity of the country and the placing of it under one sway was as distinguishing a feature of the Mahomedan period as it was of the Hindu period.

POLITICAL UNITY.

But while the tie which typified such political unity of the whole country was loose and only periodically in action in ancient India, the tie which the Mahomedan conquerors of India sought to establish was closer; and it was the effort to tighten this tie into a big centralised imperial administration, based on force and religious bigotry on the part of Aurangzeb, that broke the sovereignty of the Mogul emperors after about two centuries of strong government, over the greater part of the Indian continent. A con-

federacy of Hindu princes of an earlier period who owned from time to time an imperial suzerain as often as a strong ruler appeared on the scene, an allegiance to a Chakravarti or Emperor, was not such a steady phenomenon as it became in the days of the Mogul Empire. Indeed, at the time the Mogul emperors consolidated their conquests all over the country, it might be said that the bulk of the territories had passed under their direct sway and only the outlying portions were under princes who acknowledged their imperial authority. But by the time the whole authority of the Delhi Emperors became concentrated and measures of centralised administration had been set on foot, the inherent difficulties of direct government over such a vast territory made themselves felt and it was not long before the subadars or satraps of the out-lying provinces asserted independent powers under the nominal headship of the Delhi Emperor.

CHAOS.

To the troubles of the turbulent Satraps was added the assertion of independent sovereignty by the Maharatta chiefs and the Mussalman principalities of the Deccan and when the attempt to secure dominant authority in India by the Maharatta confederacy failed on the field of Paniput in 1761 chaos reigned supreme, and each petty little kingdom rose and fell as each adventurer started and perished. They warred incessantly with each other and the security of the country nearly in every part thereof, was precarious indeed until the East India Company—at first with a view to secure its commerce, later with a view to secure some slice of dominion for itself in the general *Melée*—found itself in the position of being able to attain paramount authority over the whole country.

MAN *vs.* STATE

Man's growth is decided by his relationship with the community as well as with humanity. He has to subordinate himself in some respects to the communal authority and at the same time assert his rights in the community. Thus arises the conflict between the individual and the community represented by the State. In some places the State is all in all and the individual is nothing as in ancient Sparta and modern Germany. In others the supremacy of the State is maintained while at the same time the power, dignity and freedom of the individual are preserved as in ancient Athens and modern France. In some others the State gives up its interference in favour of the individual and asserts that it exists for his growth for assuring his freedom and dignity as in mediaeval England and modern United States of America.

Now-a-days the State idea is the dominating factor in the thought and action of the world. It has an external and internal function to perform. It protects the individual from external aggression of other peoples, and internally it preserves law and order and improves the moral condition of the people. Theoretically it is the collective wisdom and force of the community made available and organised for the general good. Practically it requires that the individual shall surrender some of his interests for the welfare of the State. It asserts that the hope for the good and progress of humanity is in the efficiency and organisation of the State. It orders that the intellect, capacity, thought, emotion, and life of the individual be used in the interest of all.

The state is a powerful, military, political and economic being and is least hampered by internal scruples or external checks but intellectually very slightly deve-

loped. Its undeveloped intellect often blunts the ethical conscience by state philosophies. The state now feels the necessity of its existence by organising the general economic well-being of the community and even of all individuals.

FUNCTIONS OF STATE.

The function of the state is to provide all possible facilities for co-operative action, to remove obstacles, to prevent all really harmful waste and friction, to administer justice, to secure for every individual a just and equal chance of self-development and satisfaction to the extent of his powers and in the direction of his nature. But any unnecessary interference beyond this to the freedom of the individual is harmful. These powers and duties of the state have led to the growth of socialism in almost every country of the world.

SOCIALISM.

Socialism is the organisation of the State to secure the equal welfare of all its individuals. Socialism wants to secure this by avoiding competition and encouraging co-operation among the individuals. The co-operative form of human society existed formerly in the form of a commune or village community but the restoration of the commune as the unit would imply practically the return to the old city State and as its existence is no longer possible under the altered present day circumstances the socialistic idea can only be realised through the well-organised Nation-State. To afford equal opportunities and to develop an equal capacity by a free, universal and compulsory education and training by means of the organised State is the fundamental idea of modern Socialism. With the growth of socialistic ideas the tendency to organise the State to secure the efficiency, morality and well-being of every individual is developing in all countries and people are willing to surrender

their individual liberty for the realisation of this ideal. So the Nation-State is developing to be a politically free, self-governing body aiming at perfect social and economic organisation composed of individuals who are willing to surrender their liberties. The great European war has greatly enhanced the socialistic ideas among nations of the world.

DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE NATION-STATE

Even in early times among the Aryans in India there was the King with his council, the civil, the military, the priesthood, and the assembly of freemen who could be used in war as soldiers. The priest exercised very little power in the State and the Council always sided with the king, supporting him in his political and military actions. The assembly of freemen was practically the check over his absolutism. After he managed to make this assembly also to act in accordance with his wishes he used to get rid of or subordinate to himself all the other powers of the social life. This caused naturally an aversion in the minds of the people towards the king. In such circumstances, the king was compelled to act according to the will of his people and give up his idiosyncracies lest the sovereignty of the people should be asserted.

When the king begins to legislate for the people he exceeds his powers ; he has undertaken functions which he cannot healthily and effectively fulfil. Administration is simply the regulation of the outward life of the people. The king is merely the regulator. But legislation, social development, culture, religion, even the determination of the economic life of the people are outside his proper sphere. They constitute the expression of the life, the thought,

and the soul of the society. If the king is an enlightened man in touch with the spirit of the age he may help to influence but he cannot determine. Only society itself can determine the development of its Dharma by a self-conscious regulation through the organised national reason. Thus a governing body comes into existence to embody the reason and will of the whole society. When this body in the course of its development assumes the regulating power also by overthrowing the king it becomes an Aristocracy. It may be one of birth, wealth or intellect. If this aristocracy grows selfish caring only for the interests of its class and begins to interfere with economic forms, religion, education and culture of the masses using all these for the best advantage of its class the sovereignty of the people (i.e.) Democracy comes into existence. All this might well be seen to fall within the province of the king and be discharged by him with as much efficiency as by a democratic government. But it is not so in reality as history bears witness. The king is an inefficient legislator and unmixed aristocracies are not much better. For the laws and institutions of a society or the frame-work it builds for its life and its Dharma. When it begins to determine these for itself however limitedly it may be by a self-conscious action of its reason and will it has taken the first step towards the movement which must inevitably end in an attempt to regulate its whole social and cultural life self-consciously. No individual thinker can determine by his arbitrary reason the evolution of the self-conscious Nation-State. Much less can an executive individual or a succession of executive individuals determine it, in fact, by his or their arbitrary power. It is evident he cannot determine the whole social life of the nation. It is much too large for him. No Society would have the heavy hand of an autocrat on its whole social living. He cannot determine

the economic life. He can only watch and held it. He cannot determine the religious life. Nor can he determine the cultural life. No can he determine the ethical life. Akbar's attempt to create a new Dharma for the Indian nation by his enlightened reason proved futile. Asoka's edicts remain graven on pillar and rock but the development of Indian religion and culture took its own line in other and far more complex directions determined by the soul of the great people. For an individual or for a class to put forth such preposterous claims is one of the most amazing of human follies. What a king or aristocracy can not do democracy may with a better chance of success and a greater security attempt and bring nearer to fruition—the conscious and organised unity, the regularised efficiency on uniform and intelligent principles, the rational order and perfection of a developed society by self-government. This is the attempt of modern life and this attempt is the whole rationale of modern progress. In most of modern European states the middle classes often called bourgeois rule in the state representing themselves as Democrats. Such democracies are gradually tending towards proletariat democracy because the intellectuals are dissatisfied that they could not realise their ideals on accounts of obstinate commercialism of the capitalists and because the dull routine of parliament arena does not afford any scope for the play of their imagination in managing the practical affairs of state. The labourites also are dissatisfied, because the classes are using the parliamentary institutions for exploiting the masses. The union between the intellectuals and the labourites to get rid of the exclusive privileges of the capitalists and to afford equal opportunities to all is giving a strong impetus to the growth of Socialism in a well-organised democratic State. So Nation-state, Democracy and Socialism have

become the inescapable growth in the process of evolution even in the political conceptions of the people of India.

What then are the organs of the huge being the Nation-State? The classification of provinces in a state must be according either to language, religion or race. But all religions and races are found in every part of India. Then the classification must be according to languages which prevail in particular localities. The seeking for a common language for all Indians is a dominant idea in the minds of all Nationalists. The view of the people is that Hindi in either sanskrit or Urdu script may be adopted as the common language of the whole of India. But any attempt to unify all languages either by discouraging or destroying any or some of them is detrimental to the interest of national life and progress. The legend of the Tower of Babel speaks of diversity of tongues as a curse laid on the race, but the experience of humanity proved it otherwise. The purposeless exaggeration of anything is always an evil. No doubt the existence of many tongues which do not really encourage a real diversity of spirit and culture is rather a hindrance than a help to growth of nationalism. No doubt diversity of language creates a barrier to knowledge and sympathy. Very often misunderstandings though not actual hatred may be created among peoples who speak different languages. A common language may help the continuity of growing thought, formed temperament and ripening spirit. It is an intellectual bond tending to unite and strengthening unity. It is the generator of racial or national self-consciousness and the recorder of its growth, and progress. Each language is the sign and power of the soul of the people which naturally speaks it. Each language therefore develops its own peculiar spirit, thought, temperament, way of dealing with life and knowledge and experience and also assimilates the thoughts of other

nations into its own. It is the instrument for the expression of its culture. A nation, race or people which loses its language cannot live its whole life or its real life, nor one which has no language of its own can contribute anything special to the culture of the world. The Celtic race in Ireland with its profound spirituality, quick intelligence and delicate imagination which did so much in the beginning for European culture and religion remained stagnant since the overshadowing of the Gaelic speech by the English language. The British colonies or the United States of America, which have no language of their own have not got any central intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual life of their own which they can specially contribute to humanity. The very large introduction of English language in schools, colleges and law courts in India in preference to the vernaculars prevalent in various provinces has stunted the intellectual progress of India. A common national language like Hindi or Hindustani may be used to foster and preserve the spirit of a common nationality but the vernaculars should never be suppressed. Language is the sign of the cultural life of a people, its soul in thought and mind standing behind and enriching its soul in action.

Diversity of language is worth keeping to preserve the variegated culture. The suppression of any language in any race leads to sterilisation of the mind and stagnation of the same. The vigour of life and freedom of the nation can only be assured by protecting the provincial freedom as well as the individual freedom. Is it possible to have a common nationality without a common language? Look at Switzerland which has German, Italian, Roman or Latin and French, or the United States of America, the great democracy of Russia or of the Austrian which have different languages spoken within their dominions.

sity his reason favours uniformity, because it gives him an illusion of unity in place of real oneness, at which it is very difficult to arrive ; because it makes easy for him the otherwise difficult business of law and order and again because the tendency of the human mind is to make every considerable diversity an excuse for strife and separation and therefore uniformity seems to him the one secure and easy way to unification. Moreover by securing uniformity in any one direction or department of life man is able to economise his energies for development in other directions.

For instance if he standardises his economical existence and escapes from its problems he can attend more energetically to his intellectual and cultural growth.

If he standardises his whole social existence and rejects further problems he can attend more energetically to his spiritual development.

But the complex unity of existence asserts itself. Finally the intellectual and cultural growth suffers by poverty of the economic life and the spiritual life weakens in its richness on account of standardised social life.

Owing to the defect in the human mind uniformity has to a certain extent to be admitted and sought after, yet the real scheme in Nature is a true unity supporting a rich diversity.

A real spiritual and psychological unity can allow a free diversity and dispense with all but the minimum of uniformity which is sufficient to embody the community of nature and of essential principle. Until we can arrive at that perfection the method of uniformity is to be applied to such an extent as not to discourage life in the very sources of its power, richness and self-expression.

The third element of Nation-State is a centralised authority of which I need not describe much, for the India of to-day is suffering from over-centralisation. The British Indian Empire affords a type for the study of the centralisation of authority.

The fourth element is a strong defensive force, national militia, police and navy. The fifth element is well-equipped finance.

EXTREMISTS.

As bureaucratic pressure grew stronger in India there arose a certain class of extremists who hold that there is no possibility of India remaining a part of the Empire. Their reasons may be briefly stated thus: (1) *Geographically* there is no necessity for union, for the long distance of 6000 miles creates a positive mental separation. (2) *Economically* they are poles asunder. Britain wants free trade and India requires protection. If England engages herself in war with other nations on account of her having possessions everywhere on the globe, India also will be unnecessarily dragged and thus the national debt will grow, besides India losing her best sons on the field of battle. The large economic drain of Indian money to pay British officers staggers some of the Indian politicians. (3) *Psychologically* England and India have different cultures, religions, philosophies, history and traditions and the two peoples are entirely different in their habits of mind, temperament, and character. (4) *Politically* the Indians are dwarfed and stunted in their growth because they have no chances of controlling their own purse and managing their own house. The defence of India is mainly in the hands of the foreigner and in course of time the nation may grow so helpless that it will have to depend on the foreigner, for all time to come. (5) *constitutionally*—If a common parliament were

to be created for England and India, Indians, being numerically strong, may be able to control the whole parliament and thereby be able to control the whole of England to which position the Englishman will never consent. There can never be a common constitution in England for Britain as well as India, which can safeguard the best interests of Indians. These ideas are only prevalent among a particular class known as independents. But the Indian nation as a whole, as expressed in the ideal of the National Congress is willing to be within the Empire, if England offers her hand of fellowship and treats her as a sister nation. The development of steam power and the rapid use of electricity as a commercial commodity have overcome the difficulties that arise on account of the great distance between the two countries. Time and space are nothing now on account of the great advancement that has been made in the realm of science. The apparent economical and psychological differences can be easily adjusted if there is real willingness between the two countries for union. Politically too, they can easily adjust, if one does not think of exploiting the other. Constitutionally they can be two separate units with friendly relations between them. Therefore congress is indefinite on that point and leaves the future to shape itself according to circumstances.

CAUSES FOR THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM

The great events that are taking place in quick succession in the world external to India have enhanced the growth of Nationalism in India. By the close of the year 1904 an oriental country like Japan could completely defeat the huge and massive Russian Empire extending across the north of Asia and Europe together. That shattered the delusion then prevailing that the orientals were inferior in every way to Europeans. The revolution in China trans-

forming the empire into a republic fostered the growth of a desire for representative institutions in the East. The formation of Nation-States in Europe after the close of the last war gave a new impetus to the smouldering national spirit in India. England which declared herself as the champion of independence of smaller nations, cut a sorry figure in the League of Nations when she was questioned about the treatment of Indians in British India as well as in her colonies. England which holds that "taxation without representation is robbery," that "law, made without the consent of the governed, is tyranny," had to pocket her conscience when the people of India in a body asked her to give them their financial and legislative control. Be it whether England had introduced certain Acts voluntarily or whether they occurred in the usual course of things. British rule has helped the growth of Democracy in India to some extent.

The cinders of Democracy that were covered by the ashes of Brahmanical superiority and extortion of the zamindar and the nawab grew with a blaze of Nationalism after the advent of the British into India. The centralised and paramount government introduced into the country enabled the British to relieve the underfed and oppressed tenant from the clutches of the voluptuous and avaricious zamindar. The passing of the Estates Land Act in Madras, the Tenancy Act in Bengal and similar Acts in other provinces enabled the tenant to breathe more freely by relaxing the tight grip of the landlord on the throat of the famished Indian tenant. The free grant of governmental lands to the depressed classes alleviated the sufferings of the starving millions though to an infinitesimally small extent. British rule in India brought the East and West together and evoked the dormant democratic spirit in India. Social service, relief work, hospitals, and education of the masses also

enhance the democratic tendency in the nation and propagate the religion of humanity.

The dominance of the Brahman caste maintained by religious sanction and partly by spiritual interests and considerations had always stood in India in the way of development of Democracy. That caste dominated thought and society and determined the principles of national life but did not actually rule and administer.

But under British rule that caste has not only lost the best part of its exclusive hold on the national life but has secularised itself. On the loss of that influence political and secular considerations have been able to come into the forefront. It has made possible the organised unity of the nation as distinct from a spiritual and cultural oneness. Thus the political self-consciousness has been awakened. Even before the advent of the British, the Rajputs created national self-consciousness which was not of a predominantly spiritual character and the Sikhs also achieved an organised political unity in certain provinces. But in India as a whole there was a sub-conscious tendency to secularise. The Maharattas secularised themselves, the whole people indiscriminately, Brhamin and Shudra becoming for a time a sub-nation of soldiers, statesmen and politicians. The British entertained in most of their offices a good many Brahmins who found it easy to master the English language and interpret the English law to the masses and represent the requirements of the masses to British officials. These Brahmins held positions in state, earned money and became secularised. The old priestly order was thinned year after year by the secularisation of its members.

The introduction of a universal criminal law by which priest and peasant, rich and poor, Christian and Muhammadan, high and low, men of all castes, creeds,

racés and colours (though Anglo-Indians are given some privileges) are punished similarly for similar crimes is a great advance towards democracy. Much greater would have been the progress if a universal Civil Code also had been legislated for all Indians. The introduction of parliamentary methods in some branches of administration in India is a great move towards democracy for parliamentary institutions are half-way house between real democracy and benevolent despotism.

EFFECTS

Thus democracy is the onward march of humanity to the temple of God and the out-come of the law of continual progress without which there would be neither life, nor movement, nor religion, nor God. Some of our countrymen are horrified at the idea of democracy. They mistake it for anarchy. They exclaim "Is it the anarchy of France in 1793, China in 1911, and Russia in 1917?" They forget that the changes in those countries were revolutionary whereas in India it will be evolutionary. France and Russia transformed immediately and without easy intermediate stages the whole basis not only of government, but of society and that under the pressure of a disastrous war. Both these countries fell under the despotism of an extreme party which represented the ideas of the Revolution in their most uncompromising and violent form and which, though hateful and bloody in the beginning, but after a gradual settlement in the state placed their countries on a basis of democracy. The terrors which appeared in the beginning gradually passed away; peace and plenty now reign supreme. In China the ideas of democracy had not permeated the masses but it was a revolution effected by military leaders who hated the Manchu dynasty and finding themselves at loggerheads and being unable to establish a definite and settled government.

because each one of these military leaders is trying to become an emperor and set up his dynasty. Thus there arose the civil war which made life and liberty insecure. To condemn democracy on account of this is to condemn justice because several litigants are impoverished and ruined by seeking it in law courts. The circumstances in France, Russia or China are different from those of India and the Indian people are more level-headed than the people of France, China or Russia. "Democracy," says Mazzini, "is the progress of all through all under the leadership of the best and the wisest." He adds "The suffrage, political securities, progress of industry, arrangement of social organisation all these things, I repeat, are not Democracy; they are not the cause for which we are engaged; they are its means, its partial applications or consequences. The problem whose solution we seek is an educational problem; it is the eternal problem of human nature." There are two doctrines which agitated the minds of democrats. One is based on the individual right of man and the other on the duty of man to the community. Mazzini approves the latter and condemns the former which has its greatest support in England in the school of Bentham and Spencer. He says "There is but one sole virtue in the world—the eternal sacrifice of self." "The Benthamite school have taken the incident for the object. They have seized one of the results of a principle, and have said 'That is the principle itself.' Mahatma Gandhi also advocates the doctrine of Duty and Sacrifice instead of the other doctrine of Right and Enjoyment. The fall of Rome is due to the fact that there were a large number of Utilitarians who accepted the doctrine of Right and Enjoyment."

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMICS.

What is it that has made the Indian to think of Democracy as the panacea of all evils? What is it that makes India a prey to ever-recurring famines? What is it that is the cause of plague, pestilence and cholera? What is it that is at the bottom of premature and excessive mortality in India? The one answer to all these questions is the miserable economic situation in India. The administration in India presents an epitome of the management of a commercial firm on a very large scale by a board of directors, whose one aim is to obtain the largest amount of profits with the smallest amount of capital invested in it. The change of hands *i. e.*, from the control of the directors to that of the sovereign of England, has in no way changed the angle of vision of the servants of that sovereign. India of the 20th century is the same milch-cow of England of the 18th and 19th centuries. It may be the happy wish of a sovereign to proclaim "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward;" but on the contrary there is neither prosperity nor contentment. What do you generally see everyday in India? You behold the famished, and the hunger-stricken Indian cooly, unable to balance his trunk on his legs, nor his head upon his shoulders, with shrunk muscles, with an undeveloped brain and with a cloud of superstition hanging over his mental horizon. What more? You behold the British gaol with its legions of prisoners whose sole occupation and means of livelihood is the committing of crimes. You behold the busy lawyer reaping a harvest of litigation manured by the ignorance and party strife among his countrymen. You behold the stu-

field for producing raw materials for British manufacturers and finds a huge market in India for her goods after they are finished and shipped. Even as an agricultural country India has but little advanced. No great projects of irrigation have of late been undertaken as the state has no surplus income to utilise even for education or sanitation. He finds that his people or their representatives have no effective control over the budget, though a formal debate is allowed. He finds that his people are merely informed of the wishes of the government and that they are not consulted as to the incidence and allotment of taxes. He learns that those English maxims "no taxation without representation," "law without the consent of the people is tyranny," "taxation without the approval of the people is robbery" are applicable only to British people. Over and above all these he is surprised to find a big establishment in every important town intended for supplying labourers—the emigration depot for indentured labourers. Formerly men were *sold* as slaves, but now they are *hired* as slaves. The former were slaves in body and the latter are slaves for wages. The young cooly finding life too hard in India and hoping that he will find a heaven of rest sells himself for a time and allows himself to be shipped to some unknown destination. Excluding a few who are exceptionally gifted with ancestral wealth, the great problem looming large before the mind of the young Indian is "how can I earn my bread tomorrow? Shall I become a lawyer, teacher, doctor or government servant?" These are the great aspirations, the cherished ideals of many a young man. It is such men alone that can command high prices in the bridegroom-market. Except the few toiling ryots, the labourers and the manufacturers, all others are more consuming than producing agents.

BRITISH POLICY.

England has committed a suicidal policy in allowing Japan, the United States of America, Germany, Switzerland and France to pour in their goods into India, while the 313 millions in India are getting on with a single meal a day on an average. The various industries in those countries nourished by state aid and fostered by the development of technological skill and encouraged by scientific invention, have been able to crush out all the indigenous industries in this country while the authorities in India do not make any attempt to ward off the impending danger. It is not even the selfishness of England but her imprudence that has brought to the surface the volcanic forces disrupting and threatening Indian humanity of today. If it was her mere selfishness she would have introduced Imperial Preference and shut off all foreign goods from off the shores of India by heavy import duties or by dumping her surplus output. By pursuing a blind policy, *laissez faire*, she has created an economic situation in India unparalleled in the history of any country. The external menace to Indian peace is the fear of an invasion from the North-West Frontier and the internal trouble is the miserable poverty of the suffering and starving millions of India. The one is the Achilles' heel in the geographical situation and the other is the Damocles' sword hanging over the head of the Indian demos. Geographical discovery, business enterprise, political peace and scientific invention have enabled foreign countries to carry raw material from all parts of the world and send it back as finished article to the consumer. Foreign capital flowed into the country to purchase raw material and the Indian manufacturers were ousted of their employment and the labourers from villages gathered into cities either to be employed as factory labourers or to be exported as indentured coolies. Labour

is being concentrated in cities and towns to be exploited and the economics of exploitation is being worked out. The villages are deprived of their labourers and so agriculture made no progress. The price of corn goes up and rents rise with it. Labour fails everywhere to obtain remunerative employment. Population is increasing and supplies are diminishing. The war and bad harvests combined to produce a severe industrial crisis and depression. The masses are irritated and they are uncontrollable. The bitterness in the hearts of the people is made all the more acute because the bureaucracy has grown all-powerful in Asia and has to send Indian labourers to military campaigns while the condition of the labourer is as miserable as it can be. The grip of autocracy is felt by every one and the whole society is sitting on the top of a volcano which may burst at any moment. University men are agitating for the Indianisation of the state service or for at least the employment of a greater number of Indians in the State service though not in some branches of administration as army, navy etc. To appease the hunger of these people the Government has thrown out some high offices to them. Some Indians are admitted into the executive councils and some others are made ministers. But the real cause of discontent is not that a few Indians are not given high appointments but that heavy taxation is oppressing the poor and the result is that the condition of labourers is miserable. The new offices created added to the cost of administration which is already unbearable by a poor country like India. To meet this expenditure the poor man's salt is taxed. To an Indian whose average income is an anna per day the increase of a pie in his expenditure for salt per day deprives him of so many necessities of human life. The ability of the poor to pay this tax is to be judged from the standpoint of the labourer but not

from the capacity of the financial member whose salary is in thousands of Rupees. Even though the salt tax is increased a millionfold it is not necessary for him to lessen even a particle of bread from his table, but the rise of a pie may affect the poor labourer very much. If the poor peasant is overburdened with tax after tax, however small it may be, there will come a day when his back may be broken by the last straw.

LAND TAX.

Under Indian rulers, the land tax was levied on produce, but not on acreage, hence it varied with good and bad harvests and with the fertility of the soil. Under Hindu Rulers it was $1/12$ to $1/6$ of the gross produce, under Akbar it was $1/3$ and under the Mahrattas it was $\frac{1}{4}$. The periodical increase in the assessment under the British may lead even to more than 50%. Lord Salisbury said, "We cannot afford to limit all land payments to 50% on the gross produce." The peasantry in many cases can no longer live by their land, but after the harvest they go into the towns to earn by wages enough to pay the land tax. The Census Report of 1911 gives 227 millions out of 313 millions as living by agriculture. In Bombay, says the report, there is a large local supply of labourers. Into Calcutta and its vicinity 1.4 millions migrate annually for industrial employment, the great majority seeking only temporary work for the cold weather; some stay longer, returning home with their savings, their families remaining in the villages. In ordinary years the cultivators live on advances from money-lenders for 4 months in the year. Sir Charles Elliott says, "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied. No wonder that any attempt to

increase taxation would result in financial failure." [Digby P. 509].

CHANGE IN THE ANGLE OF VISION.

The poorer classes have now found out that it is impossible for them to have any share of political authority in this sort of administration. Once the Brahminical aristocracy was paramount in the land. The same was allowed to remain for a very long time even under the British rule. During the regime of Lord Morley, who was Secretary of State for India a new policy of rallying the Moderates had been inaugurated. Thenceforward a new intellectual aristocracy, one of wealth and loyal service combined, noted for its loyal parentage and traditions, is being created in India. All the loaves and fishes of office are being distributed among them and the poor man who, by dint of his ability, aspired to rise high, has practically no chance of rising up in society. He cannot afford to educate himself nor his children at the high and prohibitive cost of education, and if at all he succeeds by begging or borrowing, the next great obstacle is to get the proper recommendation. Thus the broad catholicity which once characterised the British policy in distributing emoluments among the children of the soil according to their capacity is no longer followed and the result is the upheaval of a new spirit to rectify this evil. A strong mass movement has been started to destroy this top-heavy system and wish for a commonwealth of free labourers when the peasants and labourers may find solace and comfort in the administration of their country. They began to conceive of a new economic state of society; they discovered the need of political action. The field of their activities is widened. They are aware that the grievances under which they are labouring belonged to the system.

itself and a complete alteration is to be effected, if at all society is to be saved from a volcanic eruption that is threatening every day. A new social idealism is making its way into the minds of uncared-for labourers and the discontented educated classes. They feel reinvigorated by the doctrine of sacrifice so clearly expounded by Mahatma Gandhi and they are refreshed with a moral enthusiasm. As the change in the policy of government grew more marked there rose a strong desire in the people to organise themselves to claim their birth-right of freedom and redistribute their activities. The ultimate end to which their activities are directed is Swaraj and the effect of Swaraj will be the organisation of the state, wherein every Indian may have an equal opportunity of developing his capacity and of being remunerated justly and fairly to the extent he has developed. Formerly people only cared for state service, for which they educated their children with great difficulty and as the remuneration in the state became quite insufficient as the number of vacant posts is limited, their minds are diverted from this slave-mentality to one of freedom and socialism where all men may have equal opportunities of development and employment in some state industry or activity. The heavy taxation and cost of government diverted the minds of the labourers from the present system and created in them an idealism of a government wherein people will be taxed only to such an extent as to maintain the state without engaging in aggressive wars for extension of dominion and wherein they can reduce the salaries of the high-paid officials in the state. The combination of discontented intellectuals and the half-fed labourers is a craving for the evolution of a state of free labourers. The mere conflicts of classes which begin and end with controversies for state service were transformed and transfigured by the ethical idealism of Socialism which

is simple in its outlines. It pays no heed to the complexities and conservatism of the social organisation. It stirs up the souls of men and enables them to undergo any suffering for the sake of their ideals. The people are not satisfied with the treatment meted out to them and start on a new political adventure. All this happens not because they are avaricious or ambitious or envious or wicked or selfish, but because they feel they are wronged. It is the ideal of socialism which supplies the impulse for effecting social changes. The relationship between the people led by the discontented educated classes and the state officials is growing bitter day by day. No doubt wages have risen a little but the cost of life has grown to an enormous extent that the needs of life cannot be met with at the present day with the raised wages at least to half the extent as was done formerly with low wages. The Congress propaganda is directed to enlighten and embolden the people to be free. It has introduced the *charka* in many a poor home and insisted on the people to wear Khaddar hand-spun and hand-woven cloth and discarded foreign cloth so that money may not be sent to foreign lands to enrich the purses of foreign capitalists who trade in machine-made cloth. All classes in the country are reduced to the same level as seen by the apparel they wear and simplicity of life is strictly insisted on. The old notions that the rich are born to rule the poor have been thoroughly transformed. It is clear that discontent exists in the great proletariat consisting of the toilers in the fields, the labourers in the industries, the clerks in offices, railway servants, steamer-men and petty traders. An extensive economic distress gave rise to serious agrarian troubles in the United Provinces.

CAUSES

The Taluqdars of Oudh reserved for them all the monopolies in the land and looked down with contempt

the peasants who tilled their land and created innumerable difficulties in their way. They began to oppress the peasants. Riots occurred, police and military were drafted and the peasant movement was broken.

In Bengal, Bihar and Assam extensive industrial strikes took place. The old inadequate wages and the new quadrupled cost of living were the causes of these strikes. The big capitalists and profiteers of old, facing a slump in business, began to effect extensive reductions both in the number of employees and in their pay. Large numbers were thrown out of work, the labourers could not support their families, people died from starvation. Women committed suicide for they could not procure even a cloth to cover their nudity. Strikes took place in the railway, in the steam services, in coal mines, in the mills, in tea estates and in every industrial concern. Added to this injury was the insult of the Government. Urged by the railway authorities, the steamer-men, the mine-owners, the mill-owners, the planters, the industrial magnates and from political motives Government sent Gurkhas to quell strikes.

In Madras the European capitalists locked out the workers for more than a month and then secured their re-entry through official interference, complicated by bitter communal jealousies fanned by the employers.

In Malabar there are 2 million Hindus and a million Moplahs of mixed Arab and Indian descent. On 20th August, 1921, the Moplahs broke out in open rebellion. They are poor and illiterate. The land is owned by Jennies, the Nambudri Brahmans. The Nayars are the tenants under the Jennies. The Moplahs are the subtenants of the Nayars. There is nothing left behind to the poor and hardworking Moplah after paying the rent to the landlords.

Added to this economic distress tales of desecration of the Holy places of Islam were prevalent in the country. The local officials also introduced some harsh measures which provoked them.

In Assam the coolies live a horrible life of shame and degradation. Early in May, 1921, a number of labourers left the tea gardens. The reason is that owing to a slump in the tea trade great reductions and wholesale dismissals were made in some of the European gardens with the consequent hardship on the labourers. Extremely low wages, two annas per day, and the inhuman treatment was their common complaint. The companies having already earned 100 to 200 per cent dividend, at this period of depression applied the shears ruthlessly. Harrowing tales of torture at the gardens were recited by the coolies. Their life is one of abject slavery combined with cruel treatment, and partly also of shame so far as their womankind is concerned. Thousands left the gardens. Of these a few hundred succeeded in getting away to their homes, mostly in the Madras Presidency. Others left the gardens with nothing on their bodies except a rag tied round their waist, carrying their babes and invalids in their arms or shoulders, and marching on and on, on foot over long distances, along railway lines and banks of rivers bent on reaching their homes anyhow in some far distant district in the United Provinces, Behar, Central Provinces and Madras. Large numbers congregated in some of the big towns on the way, notably in Karinganj, Sylhet and Chandpur. Half-fed, half-naked men and women, with emaciated or dying babes in arms, some just born and with cholera and fever and abortion dogging their steps, thronged the public highways, the railway station and the bazaars. From Karinganj large batches were sent by rail

to Chandpur and Goalundo by the public to release the awful congestion and danger to public health. Goalundo is on the opposite side of the river to Chandpur. When they were attempting to get into steamer, the police came and drove them into the railway station and immediately a batch of 50 armed Ghurkhas from Narayanganj were ordered and they marched to the railway station. Rev. C. F. Andrews describes the scene :

“ I could picture the turmoil and confusion, the crying and weeping on that platform, in the middle of the night, under the light of the moon. Women would be dragging their children here and there separated from their husbands. Children would be driven in one direction and mothers in another, and all the while the blows were being struck to force the people to move on. Some of the victims of the Gurukha outrage were brought before me for inspection. I saw one poor little girl with her left eye injured by a blow which narrowly missed the eyeball itself. Two women, if I remember rightly, were also there, one with a bad scalp wound. One weak elderly man was present also wounded. I saw no one among the wounded who could have offered resistance. All that I subsequently found out corroborated my first impression, that a wicked and inhuman act had been perpetrated which the people of India are not likely soon to forget. If I were to describe it in barest outline, it means that human beings in the last stage of misery and exhaustion, who should clearly have been objects of tenderness and compassion, were assaulted while they were lying on the railway platform late in the night by Gurukha soldiers. They offered no resistance. Yet weak women and children and feeble old men who were too infirm to move quickly were hit over the head and on the body with the butt ends of rifles and other weapons in order to force them to get up from the ground. I met several Englishmen on my journey to and from Chandpur who had seen with their own eyes the condition of these poor human wrecks. They expressed to me their indignation of the thought that Gurukhas could have been turned loose upon them in the night to drive them from one place to another. When I challenged the commissioner himself, he acknowledged that he had pulled one Gurukha soldier off with his own hands because he found him beating the people roughly with his weapon.....The government not only of Bengal but of

India, by its actions has come more and more to side with vested interests, with the capitalists, with the rich, with the powerful against the poor and the oppressed.

The result of the Gurukha outrage at Chandpur was a long-drawn Railway and Steamer strike in East Bengal. On May 24th, the railway staff at Chandpur and Lassham, an important junction station, went on sympathetic strike. There were rumours of Ghurukha assault. The Railway Union at Chittagong met on the 25th and after a prolonged sitting declared a general sympathetic strike to last till the question of repatriation of the coolies was justly settled by the government. Mass meetings were held the same evening and on the following days when universal sympathy was held out by the Chandpur people and collections were made to help the stranded coolies. On the 27th May the men in the steamer service joined the sympathetic strike as the Secretary of the Serang's Association, M. Abdul Majid, was arrested on some pretext, only 2 days before. By the 28th May the whole railway line was deserted. A ladies' meeting was also held at Chittagong when ornaments were given over in sympathy for strikers and coolies. The whole land and water traffic route of East Bengal was in deadlock for some months together. Government began repression and by the middle of September the strike collapsed and work was resumed gradually.

Again on 19th June, 1923, a strike occurred in the Traffic Yard involving suspension of work by about 500 employees. For many months there had been sharp differences and misunderstandings between the yard master and the staff at Khargapur. A chowkhdar alleged theft and assault against three men working in the yard, reported the incident to the police who came to the yard and arrested the

men. The men went to the yard master immediately after the arrest and requested him to enquire into the allegation and satisfy himself before handing over the case to the police. But the yard master whose justice they sought used foul language and turned them away. They went to the District Traffic Superintendent and implored for an enquiry. But it was a cry in the wilderness. It was unfortunate that the men got a bit excited at the treatment given and struck work on their own initiative. The strikers promised to join duty if a written undertaking was given by the officials to enquire into the grievances impartially. The officers hesitated and the strike continued. Then a written undertaking was given to appoint a mixed commission of employers represented by officers and employees by the office-bearers of the Labour Union at once. The men went to work after an understanding had been arrived at that in future a departmental enquiry should precede the handing over of the alleged offenders to the police and the District Traffic Superintendent assured that there would be no victimisation, that he would recommend to the agent for the payment of wages for the period on strike and that the yard master and the clerks said to be tyrannising the men would be suitably dealt with.

TRADE UNIONS

The tyranny of the employees over the employed led to the formation of unions. The working men are made to form into Unions to improve their position. The individual labourer combines with his fellows, secures the advantages of collective bargaining, conducts negotiations and gets into the habit of thinking that his personal interests depend solely on the strength of his trade connection. Thus trade unions are formed.

UNION CONGRESS.

To regulate and to create unity among them the All-India Trade Union Congress was inaugurated. The first of its sessions was held in Bombay in 1920 under the presidency of Sjt. Lala Lajapat Rai. In the second session at Jharia in Bengal on the 30th November, 1921, Seth Aganode, the chairman of the Reception Committee said:

"I am myself an employer of labour but this association with colliery work for the last 22 years at Jharia furnished me ample opportunity to acquaint myself with the ugly features of the mines labour. The difference between the mine-owners' affluence and the coolies' starvation wages is monstrous. In fact the unequal struggle for bare existence has been such an oppressive experience that I shall be false to myself, if I do not redeem, at least in part, the debt I owe to ill-used labour. To-day, we are no longer leading labour but are led by it. Labour in Europe is playing for high stakes. It wants to reconstitute society, tear up the present economic system, do away with the private ownership of land and capital and transfer all property from the individual to the community. Socialism is not new to India. To that end, therefore, the people of India must learn unity. Peasantry and artisans have again to be set on their feet. Strikes have now become a common feature of the Indian Labour movement. In 1920 there were altogether 183 strikes in India, involving over 3 lakhs of workers. Only a small number were completely or partially successful. Strikes have their uses, but should not be entered upon lightly for minor grievances. When you have to fight with the capitalistic Government, you must first make sure of your capacity to offer sustained, organised and peaceful resistance before deciding on strike."

Mr. Joseph Baptista, the president of that congress, said:—

"The cupidity of capitalists inflamed trade jealousies and was really responsible for the subjection of India. The real remedy was to put a brake on that cupidity by fixing the maximum profit of capital by domestic legislation. Without a national government we cannot promote international solidarity. Without political power we cannot solve economic problems. Many friends imagine they can have swadeshi

before Swaraj. This is putting the cart before the horse. We may have swaraj without swadeshi, but never swadeshi without swaraj. True swadeshi can only be reached by tariffs, but tariffs mean fiscal freedom, which is utterly incompatible with foreign rule. Therefore we must first seek swaraj. Labour problems demand an energetic policy and a generous budget, even if half the army had to be disbanded. It was a gigantic problem, but it was chiefly the creation of British rule and commerce. The unfavourable position of labour in India was due to the want of Trade Unions to regulate the moral and material conditions of the workers. It would be the business of the Congress to suggest measures to alleviate matters." "Our ambition," he said, "is to make the Congress the national organ of labour. Our policy must be to steer clear of extreme individualism and Bolshevism and follow the golden mean of Fabian socialism. But the Trade Union Congress cannot dispense with politics. The fact is that at the bottom there is a fear that the masses will wrench from the classes political power by combination. This fear must be greater in India where the power is in the hands of foreigners. Besides, direct action, even for political ends, had been sanctioned by British labour. There is, therefore, no reason for the Trade Union Congress to boycott politics. Measures for the workmen's welfare should include education, sanitation, workmen's compensation, nationalisation of land, railways, coal mines, jute, tea and the exportation of food stuffs."

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. This Congress declares that the time has now arrived for the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India.
2. This Congress deplores the miserable condition of life-employment of Coal Miners of Bihar-Bengal, which cry aloud for the following immediate remedial measures: Reduction of hours of work, increase in the rate of wages, education, housing, compensation for injuries, etc., and authorises the executive committee to confer with the colliery owners and managers to adopt effective measures.
3. This Congress condemns the attitude taken by the Indian Mining Association, the Indian Mining Federation and the

Chamber of Commerce and warns these bodies that this only precipitates the bitterest of class wars between the employer and the employees.

4. A Committee of Trade Union Congress be appointed with one official to inform the international Labour organisation how far the resolutions of the League of Nations Assemblies at Genoa and Washington have been carried into effect by the Government of India.
5. This Congress strongly protests against the refusal to ratify the conditions of the Genoa International Labour Conference as such attitude is calculated to prejudice prospects of Indian seamen by antagonising European comrades and recommends the adoption of draft conventions relating to hours of work, establish national seamen codes, unemployment insurance for seamen, abolition of Broker and Ghat Sareng System and establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen.
6. Indian Nautical Institutes should be established in each Indian sea-port.
7. This Congress sends its message of sympathy to the starving millions in Russia and calls upon the workers of the world to help Russia in her struggle for peace.
8. This Congress requests the Workers' Welfare League for India to ascertain how the state of unemployment of British workers can be speedily remedied by prompt co-operation between workers in India and those of great Britain and Ireland.
9. This Congress extends its fraternal greetings to Indian workers in Fiji and other foreign parts and instructs its executive committee to discover through communication with workers in Fiji what Indian workers can do to help them in their struggle.
10. In case of strikes sanctioned by the Trade Union Congress or its executive the affiliated Union must contribute to maintain strikes if the strike extends over a period of more than a month, and for this purpose instructs the executive committee to start special strike insurance fund.

11. This Congress resolves in view of the affair of colliery proprietors that a joint committee be formed to discuss the question of improvement of the present condition of labour in coal fields and the question of creating machinery for amicable settlement between proprietors and miners.
12. This Congress instructs its Executive Committee to note under its authority powerful local executive committees at Madras, Calcutta, Jharia, Jamshedpur and other important labour centres and conduct the work of organisation or supervision and assistance of exploited workers in all important centres.
13. The executive committee should take effective measures by all means in their power to compel Indian employers to provide modern housing for the workers, fit for human habitation.
14. This Congress is of opinion that vital problems would not receive proper attention until a Ministry of labour in which labour has confidence is established devoted to the interests of labour.
15. This Congress condemns war, as in its opinion war entails useless sacrifice on the part of the workers of the world, and calls upon the world workers to adopt concerted action in order to prevent international warfare.
16. In view of the prevailing tendency of Indians to prefer hand-spun and hand-woven clothes this congress urges upon employers not to interfere with employee's choice to wear Khadi except in case of prescribed uniforms.
17. In regard to Railway workers a scale of minimum wages should be fixed. Gratuities and bonus should not be forfeited in case of declaration of strike by employees, and conditions regarding gratuity should be altered making it a right and not a gift.
18. Arrangements should be made for the proper housing, medical treatment and education of railway men and their children.

19. The contract system on railways in connection with pay of clerks etc., should be abolished and all be treated as railway servants.
20. Deferential treatment on racial lines in regard to pay etc., should be abolished forthwith.

Thus young men of keen intellect and noble aspirations find congenial occupation in organising their fellow-countrymen into Trade Unions, in writing and speaking, in carrying on political and educational propaganda and in agitating for the better condition of the labourers. This class is expanding in activity and in numbers and naturally new and ambitious ideas appeal to them instead of the old and moderate ones. The relationship between the employer and the labourer is so despicable, as has already been depicted above, that the labourer is looked upon as a mean chattel who can be purchased in the cheapest market and the employers also refuse to treat their men as persons having a sense of liberty of action. Mere poverty may breed discontent but ill-treatment wounding the self-respect of the labourer and his sense of justice will breed something else and may lead to revolution. Every labourer conceives a social order based upon the instinct of liberty and equality. Every man has a national and inherent right to be treated justly which can never be violated by the convenience or the greed for profits of the employer. These instincts are natural and invincible and can never be subjected to expediency or business advantage. They are the factors which will, when politically strong and economically vivid, create a society wherein they will be predominant and undisturbed. Such a society is based on socialistic order. Till Socialism is attained all human activities will be directed towards its fulfilment. Such a consummation of society can never be effected unless Labour in its various aspects is united for

political purposes. Then only wages will be raised, sweating diminished and security of the life of the labourer guaranteed. Thus Socialism is the outcome of human effort during many years of struggle and experimentation and co-ordinates into a fellowship of mutual aid—co-operation, Trade Unionism and labour legislation. The argument that is often advanced against Socialism is that society can be bettered by increase in wages of labourers and there is no necessity for a radical transformation. Mere increase in wages does not in any way improve the condition of the labourer because the cost of consumption will also be raised. For wages is not the sole element in the cost of production; there are other items which are solely in the hands of the producers which can be raised to such an extent that ultimately the increase in wages dwindles into nothing when compared with the extra cost of living which the labourer has to meet with.

RAILWAYS AND MINES.

Even in the case of mines and railways the capitalists are able to fix prices at such a high rate that the extra wages are quite inadequate for the labourers to keep the body and soul together. Landowners, mill-owners, and merchants are able to use social reform as a means of increasing the tribute which Labour pays to capital and land. So when the state has to look after the labourer's welfare the socialistic policy of Nationalisation is to be adopted. When the wages have been raised and the cost of production is naturally raised, to compete with the costs of production in other countries the state will be compelled to resort to Protection instead of Free Trade.

DUTY ON FOREIGN PIECE-GOODS.

On March 29th, 1922, a deputation of Lancashire M. P.'s and other interested in the cotton trade waited on

Earl Winterton, the Under-Secretary of State, at the India Office, to make representation concerning the differentiation in taxation now enforced in India against foreign piece-goods. Earl Winterton received the deputation in the absence of Lord Peel. Mr. Waddington represented as follows:—

“It has been suggested that if the duty of 11% on customs was reduced to 6%, and that the excise duty was increased from $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 6%, you would then get as much revenue as you are getting from the 11% and from the three and half per cent. You would by that means reduce the price of cotton goods in India by 5%, enabling more goods to be produced both in this country *and in India*, producing greater employment in both countries, and the masses of the people being able to have more clothing.” Mr. Shaw, another member of the deputation, said, “We believe that the vast mass of the people in India under normal circumstances require their cotton goods as cheaply as they can get them. They are probably the poorest civilised in the world needing the cheapest of goods, and we do not believe that the vast majority of Indian people demand these taxes in the way they are imposed.”

It is the pity for the poverty of the Indian people that makes Lancashire to request the removal of the customs duty on foreign cotton piece-goods. Oh! what a philanthropy! It is unfortunate to observe that this philanthropy has taken away the very bread from the mouths of Indian labourers and exhausted the enormous wealth of India. It can no longer be denied that India is growing impoverished day by day and its labourers are suffering from want of work and are consequently dying of starvation. I will show you the fallacy in thinking that the removal of customs duty will enable the poor labourer to purchase in

the cheapest market. First of all there must be money for him to purchase and when there is no work for him, for he imports all foreign articles for his necessities in life, when is he to get the money required for purchase? Secondly, we do not cease to manufacture cotton goods simply because great Britain can dump her surplus manufactures in India and undersell the home producer. She has wider markets, better organisation, greater capital and manufactures on a larger scale. By encouraging the home market, increasing our scale of production and imposing a duty on the products of foreign cheap labour we might reasonably hope to gain something of those advantages which Great Britain now enjoys. If we believe in this gospel of Lancashire we have to try the cheap dumped goods rather than continue to manufacture them ourselves. Every trade being thus subjected to such foreign competition must naturally die and India becomes the home of lotus-eaters, loafers, and idlers. It is not impossible to set up factories in India. Their preaching strictly forbids any reorganisation in Indian society whereby people may shake off their lethargy and once more display their energy." It amounts to this: If a country does not possess factories it cannot produce cheap manufactures and so it must for ever buy its necessities of life from Great Britain and we should never think of setting up factories in India. The people of India are to be eternally in poverty from want of employment. If 10% of the people have work we can create work for the other 90% by encouraging home industries and by imposing a duty on foreign imports so that other countries may not dump their surplus manufactures here.

TARIFF REFORM.

This is this view the tariff reformers take to solve the problem of saving the innumerable millions of India

from the jaws of starvation by creating fresh fields of activity, for the various industries that have yet to develop. Tariff reform enables the hitherto unemployed millions to do the work now being done by the alien manufacturer. How many millions are annually leaving the shores of India as coolies from the emigrant depots, since they could not find enough of employment in the land of their birth! The aim of Tariff-Reform is to provide remunerative employment for the unemployed millions. It will enable the people of India to engage themselves in the work which is done by the labourers of foreign countries for the Indian consumer. It will greatly diminish the numbers that are emigrating to foreign lands from want of work. It will give a stimulus to the productive capacity of India and will save her from economic ruin. Some are of opinion that an import duty raises the price of the article to the consumer by the full amount of duty imposed upon it. Industries are of two kinds. Some are competitive and others are non-competitive. When an import duty is levied on commodities that have no competing supply within the country the duty is added to the price of the commodity and the people are the sufferers. For, this duty will be an additional tax. When the import duty is levied on commodities which have a competitive supply within the country the duty does not add to the price of the commodity unless a corresponding excise be levied in respect of the home product. So import duty is to be levied only on commodities which have competitive supply without any excise being levied on home products. This duty will be borne by the foreign supplier. Take the illustration of cotton piece-goods. The Indian mill-made cloth competes with Lancashire cloth. Suppose India requires a

million bales of cloth at Rs. 2 per cloth of which Lancashire imports $\frac{1}{2}$ million and India manufactures internally the other $\frac{1}{2}$ million. If the million bales can be sold at Rs. 2 per piece more will be sold if the price be lowered and less if it be raised. If a duty of As. 4 per cloth be levied on the foreign imports, the duty will be paid at the customs by the foreign importer. To save himself from loss he will try to sell his cloth at Rs. 2-4-0 instead of at Rs. 2. While the foreigner is selling his manufactures at Rs. 2-4-0 the Indian will sell at Rs. 2. Since people prefer to pay Rs. 2 rather than Rs. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ there will be double the demand for the Indian manufactures. Unless the Indian-manufactured cloth sells also at Rs. 2-4-0 the foreign supply must necessarily be withheld from competition. If it is profitable to the Indian manufacturer to manufacture $\frac{1}{2}$ million bales and sell each piece of cloth at Rs. 2 it will be all the more profitable to him to manufacture the million bales and sell them at Rs 2 each. Thus a stimulus will be given to the rapid growth of Indian manufactures. Look at Japan! She possesses a wealth of muscle and energy. She is determined to do her work herself instead of paying wages for foreign manufactures. She adopts the tariff policy and keeps out all foreign manufactures from off her shores. The effect of this new tariff is to exclude 1 million pounds worth of British goods from Japan. India is in the jaws of starvation and that the foreigners are well fed gives no solace to the dying man. India must look to herself and not rely on the philanthropy of Lancashire to send cheap-made articles to clothe the nudity of the dying Indian. Tariff Reform is intended to improve the condition of the labourer. According to the census of 1911 the total population

in India is 313,420,000. According to occupations they are classed as follows:—

Producers of raw materials	....	227,030,000
Industrials ....	....	35,323,101
Transport and Trade	....	22,868,020
Public Force and administration	....	5,046,681
Professional men	....	5,325,357
Domestics ....	....	4,599,080
Insufficiently described occupations		9,236,210
Persons living on their income	....	5,40,171
Unproductive	....	3,451,380

Thus if only 271,589,311 engaged in producing raw materials, Industrialism and other insufficiently described occupations can be benefited by a change in the fiscal policy. The whole nation will advance with rapid strides. Mere cheapness cannot eradicate all economic difficulties. How is the welfare of the country effected by the cheapness of commodities? If they are cheap on account of sweated labour woe to that country, but if they are cheap on account of larger turnover by increased scale of production the country must prosper. So also dearness due to monopoly is harmful whereas dearness due to the ratio of demand and supply is beneficial to the country, for it means larger employment and higher wages. The status of a labourer in the United States is far better than that of the labourer in India. In India things are cheaper and labour also is cheap. In the United States things are dearer and labour also is dear. Nevertheless the labourer is better off in the States than he is in India. The labourer in the States spends no doubt

more than the labourer in India for his necessities of life, yet he has a bigger surplus to lay by to be utilised in times of need.

The main aim of Tariff Reform is to improve the condition of the labourer. It is never the aim of Tariff Reform to prevent industries that are unsuited to the conditions of the country from being imported without any duty on them, but to protect the indigenous labourer against the foreign competitor by imposing duty on industries of competitive nature. India exports rice, wheat, gram, beans, lentils, other pulses, barley, jawar and bajara, maize, oils, metals, ores (manganese, wolfram) indigo, myrabolams, raw hemp, oil cakes, spices, manures, teak, coal and saltpetre. India imports cotton goods, sugar, railway plant, machinery, silk and woollen goods, motor cars, paper and paste-board, salt, matches, glass and glassware,, soap, drapery and millinery and also rice, wheat and maize flour.

A glance at these things shows that very little labour is expended in manufacturing in India. We export rice, wheat and maize to be converted into flour by foreign machinery and retransmitted into India. Are the climatic conditions in India unsuited to the establishment of flour mills in India? To prevent rice, maize and wheat from being exported, a heavy export duty is to be levied and to prevent foreign flour being imported a heavy import duty is to be levied so that all the rice, wheat and maize may be converted in India into flour and the cost of labour may benefit the starving Indian labourer. India is a vast agricultural country with half of it almost left uncultivated. Heavy import duties on foreign sugar, seeds, spices, tobacco will awaken the Indian people and make them break the bowels of the earth and fertilise the lands. Iron, steel

mineral oil and machinery may be freely imported and heavy duties be levied on motor cars, liquors, foreign paper, foreign salt, matches, glassware, soap, cotton, woollen and silk manufactures. The Indian exports all raw materials, sits idle at home and dies of starvation. A strong impetus is to be given to manufacture cotton, woollen and silk goods, soap, matches, paper, pencils and glassware. Then only the labourer in India will have ample work on hand. The main source of living for the labourer is his wages and his wages enhance when his products are preferred to those of the foreigner. It is to secure the sale of home products that tariff reform is advocated and by encouraging home industry we enable our countrymen to find work for themselves and thus save themselves from starvation. The import duty on foreign manufactures also is to vary according to the extent of the foreign labour expended on it. For instance yarn and cotton piece-goods are imported, less labour is required to manufacture yarn than to manufacture cotton piece-goods, so the duty on the yarn must be less than the duty on cotton piece-goods. The duty varies as the cost of foreign labour that is expended on it. It must be borne in mind that it is not yarn that we wish to keep out, but the labour of the foreigner in manufacturing the yarn. The value of a commodity consists of the raw material and the cost of labour spent on it. It is on this competitive labour that we want to impose a duty. We want those articles to be done in our country instead of paying the foreign labourer to do them for us abroad. If we can enhance the wages of the labourer we can increase the purchasing power of our own people and we can strengthen the home market for Indian goods and can keep in this country the money that would otherwise go to strengthen the hands of our foreign competitors. There can be no greater mischievous duty than the imposition of 7% excise

duty on cotton manufactures in India. It is to enable the British manufacturer to dump his surplus manufactures into India and enrich the Lancashire manufacturer and leave the mill hands in cotton industry unemployed. Similarly, there is no justification for the excise duty on salt and kerosine. It is only to dump in the foreign products. "Tariff restricts imports" is the view of some economists. If the value of imported manufactures grows less it will be compensated by the value of imports in raw materials and manufactures that cannot be produced in this country. Thus we see the advantage which India derives by finding enough work for Indian labourers. The foreigner must send raw materials or pay the duty himself by dumping his surplus manufactures. Till the necessary results are achieved the import duty is to be increased. The import duty may raise the price of a commodity if the home manufacturer would remain idle after the foreign supply is withdrawn and would make no effort to meet the demand however great it might be. In such a case as the price is high, the demand grows less. It is reasonable to expect the home manufacturer to exert himself to meet the demand. Factories, which were closed when surplus manufactures of foreign countries were dumped or imported manufactures were cheaper than home manufactures, will be reopened and worked with greater energy and speed. The local scale of production will thus be increased to meet the already existing demand. Costs of production would be reduced. Internal competition might be relied on to prevent a rise in price. By this increase of production it may be supposed that it is only the employer that is profited and not the labourer. It is the duty of trade unions to adjust the profits between the employer and the labourer. The interests of the employer and the labourer are mutual as regards the creation of wealth but they

become antagonistic when that wealth has to be divided. When wealth has been created let the employer and labourer struggle for their proper shares. If no wealth is created no one gets anything. For the labourer to abstain from engaging in industries, lest wealth accumulates in the hands of employers, is to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. If they agree between themselves they can both prosper or else they ruin themselves. The manufacturer always seeks the advantage of increasing the scale of production. It is the keynote of the success of the foreign manufacturer. Its absence is the cause of our industrial ruin.

REPORT OF FISCAL COMMISSION.

The Indian Fiscal Commission recommended that India should adopt a policy of protection to be applied with discrimination. Of course, that discrimination must be one suited to the circumstances of the country so as to make the inevitable burden on the community as light as is consistent with the due development of industries. It also recommended that raw materials and machinery be ordinarily admitted free of duty and that semi-manufactured goods used in Indian industries be taxed as lightly as possible. For instance, foreign yarn is to be taxed lighter than foreign piece-goods; for foreign yarn may afford some work to the Indian labourer to be woven into cloth. It also recommends that industries essential for purposes of national defence and for the development of which, conditions in India are not unfavourable, be adequately protected, if necessary and that no export duties be ordinarily imposed except for purely revenue purposes, and then only at very low rates, but that when it is considered necessary to restrict the export of food grains, the restriction be effected by temporary export duties and not by prohibition. It

further recommends that no general system of imperial preference be introduced and that the existing cotton excise duty in view of its past history and associations, be unreservedly condemned and that government and the legislative start again with a "clean state" regulating their excise policy solely in the interests of India. To develop the Indian industry it also recommends that a more industrial bias should be given to primary education, opportunities should be provided for the training of Indian apprentices and organisations for increasing the mobility of labour should be developed. The consideration of legislation against dumping in case of particular commodities when it is taking place to the detriment of an Indian industry is suggested. Precautions are also suggested against imports from a country in which the exchange is seriously depreciated and against any system of export bounties granted by foreign countries. Suggestions are also made against the railway rates, policy and coastal shipping rates. The commission says in chapter 11 and 12 that export duties tend to injure the home produce and that they should therefore not be utilised for protective purposes. The only exception is when the price of foodstuffs shows a tendency to rise to dangerous heights. The abolition of import duties on Machinery and coal and export duties on hides and tea is recommended. It further says that the system of double tariffs which prevails in most protectionist countries is unsuitable to Indian conditions and it is undesirable to employ the tariff as a means of aggression but only in exceptional circumstances, it may be used for purposes of retaliation. The commission recommends that in the interests of Indian industries, customs duties should ordinarily be levied on goods belonging to government. The Indian states are closely concerned both as consumers and as producers in the tariff policy adopted

for British India but that their views on that policy coincide generally with those expressed in other parts of India and that their interests will be fully safeguarded under the scheme of protection recommended. In Chapter IV the commission has stated that the industrial development of India has not been commensurate with the size of the country, its population and its natural resources. In diagnosing the causes from which these conditions can best be remedied it criticises the views of the Industrial Commission which mentioned various factors as 'having operated to retard industrial development. For instance the natural conservatism of the people, the inefficiency of labour, the absence of industrial and technical education, the lack of business enterprise, the shyness of capital for new undertakings and the want of proper organisation for utilising such capital as is available. The commission says, "Some of these factors might suggest the idea that Indians were lacking in certain qualities necessary for success in industrial pursuits and that therefore one of the foundations for a profitable application of protection, namely a people fitted to make a good use of it, was absent. We do not think that this idea is supported by past experience. If we take history as a guide for the future we see that there have been times when the manufactures of the country attained a high degree of excellence and were well known beyond its borders. As the Industrial Commission explained, India was at one time famous "for the high artistic skill of her craftsmen" and it was not until the industrial revolution of the 18th century that she began to fall behind in the industrial sphere and that in the words of the Industrial Commission "the erroneous idea that tropical countries, with their naturally fertile lands and trying climate were suited to the production of raw materials rather than to manufac-

tures developed." The cotton manufactures of India which were exported in large quantities throughout Asia and Europe, the skill in ship-building which was at one time freely utilised by the East India Company, the working of iron which in the old days had been brought to a considerable pitch of excellence, the manufacture of steel sword-blades commanding a great reputation in foreign countries, the exports of silk textiles and sugar, all prove that Indians exhibited a natural aptitude for industrial work, and that the present relative backwardness in this respect should not be regarded as indicating any obstacle to a wide development of industries in the future."

There may be some initial difficulties in restoring back the industry to its former pedestal, on account of the great advance which other countries of the world have made ahead of India. Professor Pigow writes, "The main element of productive power, whose development involves a long process, is a population trained in the general atmosphere of industrial pursuits. If a country is entirely agricultural and has no important class of artisans or factory workers, the skill required for starting any particular kind of mill will be very difficult to get. Masters, foremen, and workmen must first be either trained up at home or procured from abroad, and the profitableness of the business has not been sufficiently tested to give capitalists confidence in its success." For a long time, therefore, it is improbable that any work which may be started will be able to compete on equal terms with established foreign rivals—and that in spite of the fact that the industry in question may be one for which the country has great natural advantages. On the other hand, in a country which is already largely industrial, the initial difficulty involved in starting a new industry is likely to be much slighter. For, much less

time is required to obtain from among a people already accustomed to many varieties of factory work, hands capable of carrying on a new variety of it. Further, in an industrial community, those other important elements of productive power, organised systems of transport and of credit, which in an agricultural country may need themselves to be built up before manufactures can be profitably established, are presumably already in existence. From these considerations it follows that the case for protection with a view to building up productive power is strong in any agricultural country, which seems to possess natural advantages for manufacturing. In such a country, the immediate loss arising from the check to the exchange of native produce for foreign manufactures may well be out-weighed by the gain from greater rapidity with which the home-manufacturing power is developed. The 'crutches to teach the new manufactures to walk,' as Colbert called protective duties, may teach them this so much earlier than they would have learnt it if left to themselves, that the cost of the crutches is more than repaid. Such a loss may justifiably be increased by every country in the wider interests of the country as a whole. List says, "The nation must sacrifice and give up a measure of material prosperity in order to gain culture, skill and powers of united production ; it must sacrifice some present advantages in order to insure to itself future ones."

REPORT OF INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

The industrial commission recommended that education should be improved, banking facilities are to be extended, and technical assistance is to be offered to industries, so that the growth of industries may be enhanced. These alone by themselves cannot effect anything if a policy to inspire confidence and encourage enterprise is not adopted.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

The policy of imperial preference may benefit Great Britain but not India. Preference to British motor cars, machinery and cigarettes may be tried to stimulate British industry ; but the fiscal commission says, "so far we have shown that in the nature of things any preferences granted to India are likely to be of considerably less value, than the preferences which India might grant to the Empire ; and that consequently in any balance of economic loss or gain, India would, under any general system of preference, be a decided loser."

The interests of India should be viewed from the national standpoint but not in the interests of Great Britain. Moreover, Preference is equivalent to the grant of a bounty to the British manufacturer at the expense of the Indian consumer. India is poor, Britain is rich. It is not reasonable to expect the poor country to make a gift to the rich one. The fiscal commission says, "We have explained that in our opinion this view of the question is not unreasonable and that any general system of preference would undoubtedly impose an additional burden on the Indian consumer, which we do not think it fair that he should be called upon to bear." India cannot accept the principle of Imperial Preference unless India be given the same freedom as is enjoyed by the self-governing dominions and cannot accept reciprocity of preference with the colonies unless the Anti-Asiatic laws are repealed and India admitted to a status of complete equality with the colonies.

The aim before India of to-day is to be as great an industrial nation as the other nations of the world. It cannot be always importing manufactured goods and exporting raw materials. India has an abundant supply

of labour, adequate capital and a large home market. All the requisites for industrial growth and development are present here in far greater degree than in most of the countries which have attained a high degree of industrial eminence without such advantages. The Industrial Commission has ably explained the causes for industrial decay in India. "The commercial instincts of the East India Company had from its earliest days in this country led it to make various attempts to improve these Indian industries from which its export trade was largely drawn, as for example, by organising and financing the manufacture of cotton and silk piece-goods, and silk yarn; although this policy met with opposition from vested interests in England which were at one time sufficiently powerful to insist that it should be suspended and that the Company should instead concentrate on the export from India of the raw material necessary for manufacture in England. The effect of this traditional policy continued for some time after the Company had ceased to be a trading body and even after it had been replaced by the direct rule of the crown and doubtless moulded such subsequent efforts as were made in the same direction by government. But laissez-faire views gradually gained increasing acceptance both in England and in India, these spasmodic efforts became less frequent and the first effort at a general policy of industrial development took only two forms a very imperfect provision of technical and industrial education, and the collection and dissemination of commercial and industrial information." As admitted in the report, in view of her past achievements India's capacity to be an industrial country cannot be doubted. The industrial commission found that "the industrial system is unevenly and in most cases inadequately developed and the capitalists of the country with a few notable

exceptions have till now left to other countries the work of and the profit from manufacturing her valuable raw materials or have allowed them to remain unutilised." Wilson says, "Had India been independent she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon the British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted by her. She was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle the competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

The policy pursued in all civilised countries is to remove all internal duties which hamper trade and industry and excise on all articles excepting those which are injurious to public health and on few luxuries. The fiscal commission says "In the British colonies and the United States of America excise taxation has gradually been confined to these articles. But on the continent of Europe many countries have applied the excise system to other commodities, such as sugar and salt, which France employs not only a comparatively wide range of excise duties but also a system of state monopolies under which the whole profit from the manufacture of excisable articles, such as tobacco and matches, are secured to the state. In Egypt after the establishment of two cotton mills in 1901 the government subjected their product to consumption tax of 8% as compensation for the loss of customs revenue. In Japan cotton cloth is subject to a consumption tax which comprises both an excise duty on home production and a surcharge on the customs duty on the imported articles. A rebate is allowed if the cloth is exported. Japan also levies

a consumption tax on kerosine and an excise duty on sugar." Excise duty on wine, opium, ganja and tobacco is justifiable but duty on sugar and salt has no justification and they are the essential articles of food and any excise duty on them hinders the development of the muscle of the nation. The case of France and Japan has no comparison with that of India. France has adopted a policy of state monopolies under which the whole profit from the manufacture of articles is secured to the state. A policy of this kind which a state works as a monopoly cannot be regarded as a guide for a correct policy on excise matters. The consumption tax, cloth, manufactured in Japan cannot be held to provide any precedent for the purpose of a similar policy in India. This tax is levied in Japan with the specific object of encouraging the export of cloth and to economise home consumption. Such a policy may be justifiable in Japan which has industrially advanced and is able to supply the world markets besides satisfying her home market but it does not apply to India which is hardly able to supply 50% of her own requirements. The circumstances existing in Japan for levying a duty on Kerosine do not exist in India, and a duty of one anna on every imperial gallon is unjustifiable in India. In Egypt the political control is in the hands of England and the excise duty on cotton piece-goods is due more to Lancashire influence as in India than to any idea of compensation for the loss of customs revenue. Excise duties hamper industries and lead to undue interference with home manufacture. It is why England, even during the stress of war, never imposed any countervailing excise duty on English motor cars though a duty of 33½% was imposed on imported motor cars.

FOREIGN CAPITAL

The fiscal commission recommends "When the Indian government is granting concessions or when the Indian

taxpayer's money is being devoted to the stimulus of an enterprise, it is reasonable that special stress should be laid on the Indian character of the companies thus favoured. In all such cases we think it would be reasonable to insist that companies enjoying such concessions should be incorporated and registered in India with Rupee capital, that there should be a reasonable proportion of Indian directors on the Board and reasonable facilities should be offered for the training of Indian apprentices at Government expense." If foreign capital is allowed to flow into the country the profits are sent out of the country, though the cost of labour in turning out the raw materials into finished products may be utilised in this country. The real enrichment of the country takes place only when the profits of the industry remain in the country. National wealth can be increased in a shorter period of time than by the taking away of industrial profit to foreign countries. As for the advantages of allowing foreign capital to flow into India the commission says, "Moreover, apart from the intrinsic benefits of increased supply of capital, the foreigner who brings his capital to India supplies India with many things of which at her present stage she stands greatly in need. It is on the whole the foreign capitalist who imports into the country the technical knowledge and the organisation which are needed to give an impetus to industrial development. It is to him that we must look largely at first for the introduction of new industries and for instruction in the economics of mass production." The commission lacks a complete knowledge of the industrial situation in India. The great industrial enterprises in the Kolar gold fields and the electrical machinery at the falls of Sivasamudra in Mysore state falsify the statement of the commission. The Indian that lives in Mysore state is in no way better fitted for industrial enterprise than the

Indian in British Empire except with this difference. In the one case he has a semblance of freedom to start his own industrial enterprises and the state is ready to help him as far as it is allowed, while in the other he is exploited for the benefit of England. Indians have freely imported technical skill from abroad pending the training of Indian apprentices and have conclusively shown their capacity to organise and develop large-scale industries. The lack of capital to which repeated references have been made is due more to the risks involved in establishing new industries under an unsympathetic foreign domination gripping the throat of the country than to actual inadequacy of capital. The great war loan contributed by India is enough proof of adequate capital available in India. If the state shows a favourable attitude towards the development of industries Indian capital will not be kept back from investment in safe and sound channels, ensuring a reasonable return. The state has not even cared to build a technological institute even in the whole of India though a number of clerk-manufacturing Universities have been built up. If India really feels that she is safe and independent in her fiscal policy, Indian women will give up their jewellery and no foreign capital need be hunted after and the profits of industry also will remain in India.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

The great charka movement in India is often made a topic of criticism by the foreign economists that India is going back to antediluvian times. The charka is resorted to not as a competitive instrument against the modern machinery but as a development of homely industry in the idle hours of the day. Just as people cook their food in their homes they spin and weave to clothe themselves, in their

spare hours. But the organisation of companies to obtain a profit by spinning on charka is a day dream and no Indian economist has ever thought that he could compete by charka with Lancashire machinery.

STATE HELP.

The industrial commission says that the conditions of India render essential a policy of active intervention on the part of government in the industrial affairs of the country. Proposals were made for the better exploitation of the forests and fisheries. Previous to the war, too ready reliance was placed on imports from overseas and this habit was fostered by the government practice of purchasing stores in England. Special proposals are made for commercial and mining education; and the future establishment of two imperial colleges is adumbrated, one for the highest grade of engineering and the other for metallurgy. The industrial commission advocates a re-organisation of the existing scientific services, in such a way as to unite in imperial services, classified according to science subjects, all the scattered workers now engaged in the provinces on isolated tasks. How far government has acted up to the recommendations made by the commission every Indian knows. It is a mere waste of money to appoint such commissions when the government is not prepared to act. The commission thinks that reduced railway rates to and from ports have been prejudicial to industrial development and that the position requires careful examination with a view to the removal of existing anomalies. In particular it should be possible to increase the rates on raw produce for exports and on imports other than machinery and stores for industrial use.

TRANSPORT.

The Indian Railway Committee (The Acworth Committee) says, (23) "We recommend that the system of management by companies of English domicile should not be continued after the termination of their existing contracts and that these companies should not be permitted further to increase their share capital. (24) We recommend that no steps should be taken towards establishing combined companies, both with English and Indian domicile. (25) We recommend that the undertakings of the guaranteed companies, as and when the contracts fall in, be entrusted to the direct management of the state. (26) We recommend that the whole of the capital for the future development of the Indian railways be raised directly by the state." The Mackay Committee of 1907 considered that the Government should fix periodically a standard of annual capital expenditure which would approximate to 18½ crores and they laid stress on the desirability of Government adopting a steady annual rate of expenditure which they might reasonably hope to maintain even in times of difficulty. In practice the Government did not see their way either to attain the modest standard recommended by the committee or to adhere over a series of years to any uniform rate. Consequently the economic development of India has suffered from the utter failure even to keep abreast of the daily requirements of the traffic actually in sight and clamouring to be carried. The provision for future development is practically unthought-of at present. India has a population of 300 millions, the railway line is 36,700 miles. Canada has a population of 8 millions, the railway line is 39,000 miles and Australia for 6 millions of population has 29,000 miles. This disparity is due to the fact that India has no control over

her finances. The trade demands of Indians are not readily heeded to and the companies used to give preference to English merchants and the comforts of 3rd class passengers are completely neglected by the companies. The nationalisation of railways is the panacea of these evils. There is an immense flutter in financial circles in London and very great influence is brought to bear upon the authorities in order that English capital may continue to exploit the Indian Railways as ever. The European capitalist recommends that the system of both state and company management should be continued. Indians know how the East India Company managed the state and ruined the economic interests of India. So will be the company management or state and company management combined of Indian railways. As for the question of funds the legislature must adjust its budget to provide sufficient funds for the daily as well as the future development of Railways. The military expenditure is a stumbling block on the economic development of India. The standing joint committee on Indian affairs, in its second report of July, 1922, dealing with the maintenance of British troops points out that the Indian Budget for 1922-1923 shows an estimate of over 62 crores of Rupees on military expenditure out of a total expenditure of 141 crores, while the revenue is 132 crores and the deficit 9 crores. This serious financial position renders economics in all possible directions imperative. The expenditure in India for British troops in 1921-1922 was Rs. 16,81,00,000 compared with 7,32,00,000 in 1913-1914, despite the fact that the strength had been reduced by 6000 men. This ten-fold increase in the cost of military expenditure during a decade chills all Indian aspirations for progress and the creation of a citizen army is the only way to save India from economic ruin. There is a very strong feeling among the

Indian people in favour of an Indian mercantile marine. Reference has been made in the fiscal commission's report in paragraph 131 to this feeling and recently it found expression in the central legislature. Nothing should be done which will have the effect of retarding the establishment of a mercantile marine in India or of making its success doubtful. It should be officered and manned by Indians. It will be a great asset to the national defence of India. As a preliminary to constitutional reforms the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford report urged the importance of a complete separation between the finances of the central government in India and those of the provincial governments (Chapter VIII of their report). The scheme they proposed abrogates the present system by which certain of the main heads of revenue and expenditure are divided between the central and the provincial exchequers; some of these it hands over wholly to the central government—income-tax, revenue from general stamps, customs; others wholly to the provinces—land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps; while they should be wholly responsible for the corresponding charges and for all expenditure in connection with famine. The financial relations committee says, "We cannot conceal from ourselves the disadvantages in ordinary circumstances of a system of provincial contributions and we anticipate that the government of India will direct its financial policy towards reducing these contributions with responsible rapidity, and their ultimate cessation."

The committee further recommends with regard to pensions, leave allowances drawn outside India, that pensions and leave allowances of provincial servants must be paid by provincial governments and the central government should relieve the provinces by paying their own pensions and

leave allowances. No surplus will be possible without provincialisation of the revenue from general stamps. In as much as by this re-arrangement the government of India will lose heavily the committre proposed tentatively some contributions from the provincial revenues. 'The iniquitous impost' on Madras is 348 lakhs, Bombay 56, Bengal 63, United Provinces 240, Panjab 175, Burma 64, Central Provinces 22, Assam 15. The considerations taken by the committee are (1) whether they are heavy gainers in the new distribution of revenues, (2) whether they contribute very largely indirectly through customs and income-tax to the Government of India. Such contributions are to be made till a period of 7 years, at the end of which Madras is to contribute 17%, Bombay 13%, Bengal 19%, United Provinces 18%, Punjab 9%, Burma 6.5%, Bihar and Orissa 10%, Central Provinces 5%, Assam 2.5%. These are to be reduced or increased in an arithmetical progression during these 7 years. The committee further recommends that the provincial loan account should be funded. Whatever portion of the account so "funded" the province is prepared to take over forthwith should be written off against an equal portion of the provincial balance as from 1st April, 1921; and the balance of the "funded" account should remain outstanding as a debt, from the province to the government of India. On the outstanding balance the province should pay interest at an average rate and also an annual charge for redemption, enough to redeem the debt in not more than 12 years. The committee recommends that general stamps also be given to Provincial revenues. If there is to be real provincial autonomy the iniquitous impost must be removed and a clear line of demarkation be drawn between provincial and central revenues on an equitable basis so that the provinces may be capable of utilising the revenues in the best interests of the province.

ANNUAL DRAIN.

The annual drain from India to England, one of the patent factors for her growing poverty and destitution, is some £ 20 million sterling. Of this the major portion is interest on capital raised in England for the railways and other public works of India. Another item is the annual remittance to the India Office for government stores bought in England for India. Another item is the payment of pensions and leave allowances of British servants of Indian service in England.

About the extravagance of the Government, Lala Lajpat Rai, in his Presidential address at the 1st Trade Union Congress at Bombay, says:

"The Government of this country is wasteful and extravagant in the salaries and allowances it allows to its higher service. It would be bankrupt if it met the demands of the subordinate services and lowest rank of its employees also in the same spirit. Consequently to avoid bankruptcy it sweats its lowest service in a way as perhaps no other government on the face of the earth does. There is no country in the world which pays its higher civil and military service anything like the salaries of the Government of India does. In the whole of the United States there is only one man who gets more than 35,000 rupees per annum, and that is the president of the United States. In Japan even the Prime Minister does not get that amount. In India there are dozens, mostly Englishmen, who get more than that amount. Compare the salaries, post by post, and you will find the standard extravagantly higher in India, while the living even now is comparatively cheaper. Yet within the last two or three years the Government has sanctioned enormous increases in these salaries. The worst features of the situation, however, is the extreme disparity that exists between the salaries of the lowest services and those of the highest. The difference between maximum and minimum salaries in the United States and Great Britain on the one hand and India on the other is simply startling. In the United States the lowest salary allowed to a clerk or porter in Government office is from about 1,000 to 1,200 dollars a year, and the highest allowed to a cabinet minister is 12,000. In India,

a cabinet minister gets Rs. 80,000 a year besides allowances, while his orderly gets only Rs. 120 a year or at the most Rs. 180. In calculating the needs of a civil servant, the government of India shows a great deal of generosity, provides for the education of his children, for the luxury of travelling to and from Europe, and secures him a high standard of comfort in India. But when it enters into calculation ascertaining the proper salary of a post-man or a telegraph peon or an orderly or Railway porter or signaller, it not only disregards all these considerations but is mean enough to bring into account the earnings of his wife and minor children."

The economic life of India is mainly in the hands of foreign exploiters. Government took control of gold and silver in 1919 and prevented export and melting. Gold ceased to function as a currency and the note issue was expanded; small notes of one and 2½ Rupees were put in enormous circulation. In the pre-war period the gross note circulation was about 6,000 and the percentage of metallic reserve to the gross note circulation was about 75. The note circulation in 1919 rose to 15,346 and the percentage of metallic reserve fell to 35. Facilities of note encashment were reduced. Mr. Dalal, the only Indian member of the Exchange and Currency Committee, recommended as follows :—

- (1) The money standard in India should remain unaltered, that is, the standard of the sovereign and gold mohur with rupees related thereto at the ratio of 15 to 1.
- (2) Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of gold bullion and gold coins.
- (3) Free and unfettered imports and exports by the public of silver bullion and coins.
- (4) The existing silver Rupee of 165 grains of fine silver at present in circulation to continue free legal tender.
- (5) As long as the price of silver in New York is over 92 cents, Government should not manufacture silver Rupees containing 165 grains fine silver.

- (6) As long as the price of silver is 92 cents, Government should coin 2 Rupees silver coins of reduced fineness compared with that of the present silver Rupee and the same to be unlimited legal tender.
- (7) Government to sell council bills by competitive tenders for the amount defined in the Budget as required to be remitted to the secretary of state. The Budget estimate to show under separate headings the amount of council bills drawn for Home charges, for capital outlay and discharge of debt. Council bills to be sold for Government requirements only and not for trade purposes, except for the purpose mentioned in the next succeeding recommendation.
- (8) "Reverse" drafts on London to be sold only at 1 s 3 $\frac{29}{32}$ d. The proceeds of "Reverse" drafts to be kept apart from all other government funds and not to be utilised for any purpose except to meet drafts drawn by the Secretary of State at a rate not below 1 s 4 $\frac{3}{32}$ d per rupee.

His view was not accepted and the 2 sh. Rupee as proposed by European members was adopted. Their view was that the Rupee should be linked to gold and not sterling at the rate of 2 shillings instead of the standard value of 1 s. 4 d. The result was a heavy loss to government and many big traders became bankrupts. In their report the currency committee said that whilst a fixed rate of exchange exercises little influence on the course of trade, a rising exchange impedes exports and stimulates imports and a falling exchange exercises a reverse influence. The government sold £ 55 millions of reverse councils before abandoning their effort to sterilise exchange at the new ratio; the loss of these—that is the difference between the cost of putting the funds down in London and in bringing them back to India—was Rs. 35 crores—a dead loss to India. Government sold £ 53 millions of gold, without

breaking or seriously affecting the premium on gold. The only advantages were a considerable contraction of the Note issue and the silver token currency. In September, 1920, the Viceroy announced that 1238 lakhs of silver had been returned to the currency making the metallic reserve 57% whilst the Note issue had been reduced from Rs. 185 crores to 153 crores. The government had no right to interfere with the established standards of value. The high exchange was prejudicial to Indian trade and industry. The sale of reverse councils was sacrificing the sterling resources of the country at ruinously low rates. Exchange should be left to find its own level, with only the fixed legal minimum of one and four pence, above which no reverse councils should be sold. The attempt made by the government was to stimulate the export trade of England at the expense of India. Later, when the importers were hard hit there was a demand from various quarters for the resumption of the sale of reverse councils but to this government turned a deaf ear on the ground that without the collateral support of a revival of the export trade this would have no effect and government would devote all their energies to the revival of the export trade.

SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

On 16th July 1923 Sir Purushotamdas, during his membership of the Inchcape Committee, came across substantial evidence regarding the crores of rupees that India was losing in respect of apportionment of financial liabilities between England and India. Several items of expenditure particularly military, naval and political which should have been borne by the home government were inflicted on India, because the secretary of state had the final voice and over-ruled Simla, in the interest of the British

taxpayer. He therefore urged in the council of state that no compromise be made between Simla and Whitehall in any dispute without the previous sanction of the Indian legislature and that when arbitration was felt necessary, arbitrators should be the premiers of the Empire in conference. Sir Purushotamadas showed from records that since 1858 India had been bled by wrong apportionment and that the government of Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebury had admitted the injustice of the transaction and showed readiness to appoint a body of arbitration. Even a conservative commission like the Welby Commission of 1900 reported in favour of arbitration as it found that the war office had unjustly charged India and the government of India's representations had been always ignored. When Sir Purushotamadas asked for the amounts under dispute at the present moment Mr. Mc'Wathers, the financial secretary, while admitting that large sums were involved, evaded the point by saying that definite information was being collected. He and Sir Muhammed Shafi, however, attacked the resolution as being inconsistent with the existing constitution in asking to deprive the secretary of state of his final powers and entrusting it to the Assembly. But the motion was defeated on account of the thin attendance of non-official members.

CO-OPERATION.

The co-operative movement has made great progress and it helped to keep down the encumbrance on the land and to save the agriculturist from the clutches of the money-lender. Habits of thrift and of independence or tremendously enhanced by the co-operative system, and the lesson of self-help and of joint enterprise and responsibility are also inculcated in the mind of the raiyat. In an enlightened system of agricultural co-operation lies the

most important means of the improvement of the masses of the country. Great has been the success of the movement in many spheres. There are many cases when the influence of these societies has worked against drunkenness the habit of spending largely on marriages and has inculcated business habits. The feeling of all for each and each for all is one of the main products of the co-operative spirit. Though illiteracy has hampered the movement a little the co-operative spirit has in its turn produced a spontaneous desire for education. Members of rural societies have attempted to learn to read and write in order to take a real interest in the working of the society. The great difficulty in the introduction and extension of the co-operative system is due to the disintegration of the old village communities and the consequent decay of the spirit of co-operation amongst the villagers. The only way by which the evil can be arrested and the economic and social standards of life of the rural people elevated, is by the inauguration of healthy panchayats and co-operative societies. In Europe, in addition to land credit societies there are a number of co-operative societies for undertaking special forms of agricultural enterprise viz., the purchase of agricultural implements and manures, the production of commodities and their sale. They purchase at cheap whole-sale prices instead of high retail prices and the freight also will be cheaper. Implements and appliances which will be beyond the financial capabilities of individual land-owners can be purchased in common. Sugar, oil threshing, and milling also have been worked on co-operative basis. In Italy and Switzerland there are co-operative societies for distributing the necessities of life. The whole-sale societies in Great Britain have established factories and workshops of their own for making shoes, clothing, hardware, biscuits,

jams and pickles. Many co-operative unions set apart a portion of their profits as a fund for education and elect special committees to train the masses in education and co-operative thought. The production becomes much easier by the elimination risk, which arises from the fact that the consumer and producer have equal interest, being members of the same society, and articles can be had very cheaply. The habit of paying cash down is encouraged and there is no higher school of Democracy than a properly worked co-operative society.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL PURIFICATION

To aim at democracy without attempting to correct social evils is to attempt to sleep only with one eye closed while the other is kept awakened. It is the constant endeavour of every reformer to overcome the vices in society, or else society will either assert its vitality for purging out the evils by a revolution or succumb under them by loss of its organic growth and deteriorate. Some sentiments are useful for the growth of societies and when they grow preponderatingly abnormal they cause the ruin of that society. Take for instance the spirit of exclusiveness. Among the early Aryans this spirit helped a good deal for uniting the various Aryan tribes against the non-Aryans and when the Aryan glory faded and the Hindus failed to preserve their independence, the spirit of exclusiveness grew stronger and led to the downfall of the Aryan power. The Turks won Constantinople by their exclusiveness over the Christian races of Europe. When the Turk failed to assimilate his Christian subjects into his nation-state and excluded them from high and trustworthy places the fall of the Turk began. The Maharattas in their early days were able to cement the Hindu races by their exclusiveness against the Mussalman and, as their power increased, they failed to assimilate the Mussalmans and their exclusiveness was the cause of their ruin. The Englishman to-day may gain by his exclusiveness, which affords him greater opportunities for exploiting the coloured races and Nature will not fail to pay him in the same coin.

It is high time for the Indian patriot to put his house in order. "Caste is the great monster we have to

kill," says the great scholar and patriot, Dr. Bhandarkar. Caste is the cause of social stagnation, division and inflexibility. Dr. Tagore says,

"This immutable and all-pervading system of caste has no doubt imposed a mechanical uniformity upon the people, but it has at the same time kept their different sections inflexibly and unalterably separate, with the consequent loss of all power of adaptation and re-adjustment to new conditions and forces. The regeneration of the Indian people to my mind, directly and perhaps solely depends upon the removal of this condition of caste. When I realise the hypnotic hold which this gigantic system of cold-blooded repression has taken place on the minds of our people, whose social body it has so completely entwined in its endless coils, that the free expression of manhood, even under the direst necessity, has become almost an impossibility, the only remedy that suggests itself to me is to educate them out of their trance.....Now has come the time when India must begin to build, and dead arrangement must gradually give way to living construction—organised growth. If to break up the feudal system and the tyrannical conventionalism of the mediaeval church, which had outraged the healthier instincts of humanity, Europe needed the thought-impulse of the Renaissance, and the fierce struggle of the Reformation, do we not need in a greater degree an over-whelming influx of higher social ideas before a place can be found for true political thinking? Must we not have the greater vision of humanity which will impel us to shake off the fetters that shackle our individual life before we begin to dream of national freedom?.....From my seclusion it seems to me that it is not this or that measure which is at the bottom of the Indian unrest. We have been on the whole comfortable with a comfort unknown for a long time. We have peace and protection and many of the opportunities for prosperity which these imply. Why then this anguish of heart? Because the contact between East and West has done its work and quickened the dormant life of our soul. We have begun to be dimly conscious of the value of time we have allowed to slip by, of the weight of the clogging, effete matter which we have allowed to accumulate, and we are very angry with ourselves. We have also begun vaguely to realise the failure of England to rise to the great occasion, and to miss more and more the invaluable co-operation which it was so clearly England's mission to offer. And so we are troubled with a trouble

which we know not how to name. How England can best be made to perceive that the mere establishment of Pax Britannica cannot either justify or make possible her continued domination, I have no idea, but of this I am sure, that the sooner we come to our senses and take up the thread of our appointed task, the earlier will come the final consummation."

Mr. Kidd in "Social Evolution" P. 154, says, "In eastern countries, where the institution of caste prevails, we have indeed only an example of a condition of society in which these groups and classes have become fixed and rigid and in which consequently progress has been thwarted and impeded at every turn by innumerable barriers which have for ages prevented that free conflict of forces within the community which has made so powerfully for progress among the western people." The census report of 1891, page 121, says, "The social and religious divisions of the Indian people are now based upon an exclusive devotion to heredity and custom manifested in the inclination to exalt the small over the great, to exaggerate the importance of minor considerations and thus obscure that of the more vital. Litany and ceremonial observances usurp the place of moral and spiritual ideas with the result that the sanction of religion is applied to all the regulations of social intercourse. Rank and occupation are crystallised into hereditary attributes, a process which ends in the formation of a practically unlimited number of self-centred and mutually repellant groups, cramping the sympathies and the capacity for thought and actions. Within these groups, it is hardly possible to speak too highly of the charity and devotion of the members of the community to each other, but beyond them, the barriers on all sides preclude co-operation and real compassion and stifle originality in action."

Mr. Nesfield in his "Review of the Caste System" (pages 103-104), says.

Society instead of being constituted as one organised whole, is divided against itself by inorganic sections like geological strata. The sense of insecurity thus engendered could not but lead to a loss of independence and courage in the character of individuals. For, man soon ceases to rely on himself if he thinks that no reliance is to be placed on the good will and fair dealing of those around him and that every thing which he may say or do is liable to be suspected or miscon-

trued. Thus the two great defects in the Indian character—a want of reliance in one's self and a want of confidence in others—have sprung from a common source, the terror-striking influence of caste. The caste arrogance of the Brahman which first sent these evil spirits abroad has corrupted the whole nation and descended to the very lowest strata of the population.....Not only has caste demoralised society at large, but it is a constant source of oppression within its particular ranks. Caste is therefore an instrument both of widespread disunion abroad and of the meanest tyranny at home, and the latter of these evils has intensified the want of courage and self-reliance to which we have lately alluded as being one of the greatest defects in the Indian character." at page 116 he says, "Had the Brahman never come into existence and had his arrogance proved to be less omnipotent than it did, the various industrial classes would never have become stereotyped into castes and the nation would have been spared a degree of social union to which no parallel can be found in human history."

The two great distinguishing features of caste at the present day is endogamy and absence of commensality. Exogamy is not prevalent because there is no law in India legalising the marriages between caste and caste, between Hindus and Muhammadans and between people of one race with those of another. Now the Civil Marriage Act was passed. We hope that nationalists will in future not resort to endogamy as usual but break through the fetters of custom and marry outside their sect or caste or religion. Thus a wider field will be open for the choice of marriage between man and woman. As for commensality some nationalists who are purely vegetarians and who were accustomed from time immemorial to vegetarian diet may feel difficult or rather averse to dine with a non-vegetarian. One may like one kind of food, the other may like another. That should not be the motive why society should be split into a number of castes. In these days of individual freedom society expects every one to be capable of selecting the best food suited to his taste and any restriction on the

selection of food by an individual is preposterous and an insult to the instincts of the human race. Man is by his physiological structure a carnivorous as well as a herbivorous animal. The canines and incisors found largely in carnivorous animals are also found in the mouth of man. He has also a large number of molars, found in still greater numbers in herbivorous animals and wanting in carnivorous animals. The long alimentary canal of man is neither too long as that of the cow, the goat and the buffalo, purely herbivorous animals, nor too short as that of the wolf, lion and tiger, mainly carnivorous animals. If man is by creation a purely herbivorous animal some races could never have resorted to animal food; the cow and the goat have no liking for animal food. So man is not by nature exclusively herbivorous. Some races have taken to pure vegetarianism simply to develop the *satwic* temperament and kill the ferocity in man. Vegetarian races are not so active, martial and industrious as non-vegetarian races. Even in animals the wolf, the tiger and the lion are more active than the cow, the goat, the bull and the elephant. Even the vegetarian races take milk, ghee and other animal products. The absorption of vegetable food in the body takes a long time and deprives the body of much of its vitality in assimilating it. This question of food should never stand in the way of consolidating the races together. When a non-vegetarian has to dine with a vegetarian he can oblige his friend by withholding his meat diet so long as his friend who is a vegetarian stays with him. He has to bear in mind the words of St. Paul who says, "If meat make my friend offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth." Thus if all people make up their minds to overcome such sentimental objections the progress of national consolidation will take place in rapid strides. Some objections may also be raised

about the *Acharams*, washings and other perfunctory ceremonies attendant on caste. All such Pharisaistical customs may easily be given up when unnecessary and practised by all when necessary. Christ broke the Jewish caste when he allowed his disciples to eat with "unwashed hands," when he held intercourse with the Syro-Phœnician woman, when he touched the leper. Why not the example of the Jewish reformer inspire similar feelings in the hearts of Indian Nationalists? The great slur on Hindu society is its treatment of the Panchamas. Their position is the most degraded even from epic and Puranic times. Even the establishment of Mahomedan rule in India does not appear to have improved the position of the Chandalas, although the Mussalmans recognise no caste and freely employ them in domestic service. It is really surprising why some of the Muhammadan rulers, who hated the Brahmans, had not taken into their heads of elevating these people and thereby put down the Brahman influence. Buddha was dissatisfied with the then existing state of caste system and strongly protested against it. During the Buddhist period caste system lost its vigour and rigidity to a very great extent on account of the predominance of Buddhism in the land. Even then the lot of the Chandala was the same. But Buddhism disappeared from this land on account of the upheaval of orthodox Hinduism which made caste as rigid as it could be in the Puranic period. Islam is more democratic than Hinduism. So the Hindus were overthrown. Wherever the rigour of the caste laxed there the Hindu power raised its head. In the battles of Sivaji the Mohar fought side by side with the Brahmin. The Sikhs treated them well and they were victorious over other people. The lot of the Chandala is the worst in the south-west of India where no foreign influence penetrated till very recent times and

orthodox Hinduism held its sway. A nation wanting in solidarity can never withstand the onslaught of foreign invaders. An anti-social man can be easily conquered by the social man. The caste system as it has been in existence is an anti-social system. It is a system of graduated despotism and slavery, the offspring of Hindu priestly rule and militarism. But after the advent of the British, the priestly class was secularised by being employed in government offices and the individual freedom which is the strong characteristic of Christian religion takes hold of the mind of many an educated Indian and the rigidity of caste is reduced to its lowest minimum, and after the inauguration of complete democracy in India we hope caste will find no place at all in the Indian polity or sociology. The Missionary efforts of the Christians helped a good deal in elevating the status of the low castes and in creating in them ideas of self-respect, self-love and self-reverence. The personal freedom enjoyed by most of the low caste people has relieved them from their slave-mentality. The great preacher Mahatma Gandhi taught that untouchability is a curse in the Hindu society. No doubt there were slaves in ancient Rome and Greece and other countries. But the lot of slaves was not so bad as that of the Chandala in India. The slaves were companions of their lords. They were in personal attendance on them and if they were intelligent and faithful they became their confidential advisers. The idea of cutting off a whole caste from society and keeping them at a distance as a mark of their degradation, declaring them to be unfit for any kind of intercourse is unique in the annals of a country. It is also unique in the history of the world that a people nearly 313 millions in number, occupying a vast and fertile country, with all the advantages which Nature has to bestow, is held in subjection by a handful of foreigners and the also coolly

pocket the insult when their countrymen are segregated in distant places in other parts of the Empire in the same way as these Chandalas are kept in India. Nature is too impartial to leave such men unpunished and the scourge of God is always on those who sin. Disunion paralyses a national movement. A united front is the *sine qua non* of success. Mahatma Gandhi preached very strongly against the evil of untouchability with a view to create a solidarity among the rank and file of the proletariat in the Indian nation. As more people will come forward to take up the national cause, the ideal of equality will infuse a new spirit in the Indian mentality. The idea of equality inspired the Ironsides of Cromwell to fight more strenuously than the Royalists who wanted to support the autocracy of the King and the Lords. It is the cry for equality that inspired the French soldier to dethrone the Bourbon. It is the sentiment of equality that makes America what it is to-day. The modern Russia is the outcome of this strong sentiment of equality among the peasants and workmen. Either on the battle-field or in office or in workshop the principle of equality holds good. If India gets rid of caste and untouchability and presents a united front, her enemies will be disarmed and in fullness of time and the ordering of Providence, India will be able to achieve what she is so ardently aiming after—a place in the pantheon of Nations. She will never thereafter be looked down by her sister nations. In union is our strength and in disunion our failure. That has been the lesson nature has ever taught man. The experience of mankind proves it and the History of Nations affirms it and the voice of conscience accepts it but the pride of man scorns it. Pride always precedes a fall and when man becomes aware of it he must rectify before he can

avert a fall; otherwise his fate is sealed and no amount of tall talk will save him.

WOMEN

Gentleness and devotion to God are the predominant characteristics of Indian women. If intellectual and spiritual refinement is combined with these qualities then will womanly grace be carried to perfection. The present education has only touched the merest fringe of Indian womanhood and has not been able to create a new life among them. Those few women who have come forward to work for the good of their country and humanity have not shown that courage which is necessary to set on foot a movement which shall purge the human society of the evils under which they are suffering from ages long past. But there is a great prospect that Indian women before long will take a leading part in the greater India that is in the making. Their noble qualities will be utilised not only for the happiness of the Indian home but for the good of the country as well. The fact that many Indian women could not recognise the beneficial effects of such a permissive legislation as that of government's Civil Marriage Act shows how depressed is the feminine mind in India. Though so many great men from Ranade downwards had condemned the evils of child marriage, the women of India had not come forward to raise their standard of rebellion against such an oppressive and debasing custom. Though widow marriage is legalised we find many a child widow everywhere, 4% of the males aged 5 to 10 are married, and of those aged 10 to 15 years 13%, of those between 15 to 20 years 32%, and the percentage rises to 69 for those between 20 and 30 years. Of the females under 5, one in 72 is married; of those between 5 and 10 years 10%, between 10 and 15 years 45%, and between 15 and 20 more than 85%. Altogether there are

2½ million girl-wives under 10, and 9 millions under 15 years. The result is shown in the percentage of widows. The proportion of widows is about 18% of the total number of females against only 9% in western countries. About 4 lakhs of widows are below 15. Legislation to prevent infant marriage is in force in the only two progressive places of India, the Indian states of Mysore and Baroda. In the former an Act has been passed forbidding the marriage of girls under eight, and that of girls under 14 with men over 50 years of age. For though marriage is a sacrament in most places and with most people of India, old widowers greedily take up young girls as their wives without any regard to the future of the girls. Widowers above 50 marrying girls below 12 are yet common, and the orthodox society still connives at such unnatural outrages in the name of religion. The Gaekwar of Baroda, in the face of strong orthodox opposition has refused to satisfy the best of old widowers to the sacrifice of young girls, and in 1904 passed an Act forbidding absolutely the marriage of all girls below the age of 9. The Act allows the marriage of girls below the age of 12 and of boys below 16 only when the parents first obtain the consent of the tribunal consisting of the Subjudge and 3 assessors of the petitioner's caste. Consent is given only on certain special grounds specified in the Act. Every attempt of Dr. Gour to introduce a measure in the Legislative Assembly to raise the age of consent from 12 to 14 is thwarted and the measure is postponed from day to day. A good deal lies in the hands of Indian women to agitate for their education and elevation. Unless a greater number of Indian women understand the disabilities under which their children themselves are writhing and come forward to alleviate the misery of their daughters and sons the advent of democracy will be delayed and India will never be able to cope

with the advancing nations of the world, for one-half of Indian humanity is sunk in ignorance and slavery. The women must non-co-operate with men until their grievances are redressed. Every organic growth starts from within and any superstructure imposed on society without the consent of those under it is an incubus from which society suffers. The elevation of women is not in the hands of men but they must educate themselves and assert their equal rights in human society to which they are entitled by the laws of nature and Providence. There are in India to-day women who are doctors, barristers, inspectors, teachers, orators and poets. The Indian never considered this as unwomanly and has been encouraging it. As larger numbers of women receive education and assert their rights in societies as human beings the traces of opposition still lingering in the orthodox mind will vanish away. In the Ramakrishna mission and in the Arya Samaj there are devoted women workers carrying on institutions for the care of orphans, the nursing of the sick and the teaching of the young. The Begum of Bhopal has shown an enlightened policy among her subjects. The movement for the amelioration of women is a national movement and it is not confined to one particular class or race. The transformation to modern life of social service from the secluded life behind the purdah is one of the marvellous achievements of Indian Nationalism. Those who have come out have been able to assume from the beginning their natural womanly place as leaders of national advance in all that is good, and the educated men of India have immediately accepted this as their cherished ideal. They speak with pride and admiration of the women who are leading the way, and respond generously when their sympathies are claimed for financial and other support. The Bombay and Madras corporations have admitted

some women as commissioners. Many Indian women presided over provincial conferences and some are office-holders in the Indian National Congress. It is really a pity that educated Indians hesitate to move forward when the safety and well-being of their own families are in jeopardy. The dead hand of custom lies heavy on the land and the Indian is slow to relieve his own daughter and sister from the thralldom of repressive customs and to educate them so that they may prove useful citizens in the greater India that is in the making. The great difficulty in their way is the opposition which they meet with from their ignorant elderly females. The public press is strongly advocating the cause of emancipation of Indian women and there are healthy features of their early attainment of equal status with men. A writer in *Modern Review* says, "In India woman has vegetated rather than lived the full life. She has not attained the status which is hers by birth-right. She has not been granted the advantages of an independent human being, nor has she given to the nation at large an impetus towards development. She has been cribbed and cabined and her growth impeded." A writer in the *Arya Patrika* writes, "Looking on woman as a negligible factor, we have monopolised all departments of thought and activity to ourselves, and our treatment has been unjust in the extreme. To some, who have to pay large dowries for their daughters, the very birth of a female child is unwelcome. Those who become widows lead miserable lives; their presence is inauspicious, and they are denied all comforts of life. Man may marry as often as he pleases, but woman only once. Man may improve his health, take an open air exercise; but woman must remain a prisoner in the "black holes" of our houses—not homes. Man may win laurels in universities, but woman should not dream of knowing the 3 R's. Man may

go to foreign countries to learn various arts and sciences but woman should not be given even chances of knowing how to handle a needle. Is not such a treatment of woman a disgrace to humanity? Mere talk of nationalism does not produce a nation; it should be obvious to every man in India that the future of the country depends upon its motherhood. We may hold a hundred political congresses and conferences; we may talk as much as we will of our new-born nationalism; but never shall we make an inch of progress as a nation unless and until we solve this problem." The educated classes in India neither get a fair start in their childhood, nor can they break the chains of narrow home traditions in later life. The bonds of caste and other evil customs which now cut so deeply, would be loosened at once if the home were an educated home. The evil caused by the ignorance at home works in manifold ways. The uneducated mothers, often themselves mere children, have little else to teach their own little ones but fabulous legends and old-world superstitions. The child's mind is plastic in youth and the mother's teaching however foolish leaves an indelible impression. The effect of having one section of society educated in modern ways and others living in the old world of the past will create strange anomalies in Indian family life. At school the mind of the Indian boy is visibly confused. He lives in an atmosphere of bewilderment. Life is divided for him into two separate compartments—the public life at school and the social life at home. He finds a great contradiction between the two and any reconciliation on his part is beyond his reach. The Indian women have patiently abided with the disabilities imposed on them and she ungrudgingly submitted to the regulations however drastic they had been. The Indian woman has not only shown much patience but she sedulously sought the welfare of

man and did everything in her power to maintain the family reputation. The welfare of the nation demands to-day not only that she should continue to do her work for the welfare of the family but that she should also share the burden of public life with the same patience, diligence, and promptitude which had been her characteristics in family life. Without the co-operation of women nothing can be achieved. Her counsel and active assistance is absolutely necessary in national regeneration. There are a large number of avenues of public life wherein woman is best fitted to serve the nation. Generally women are more kind-hearted than men. She feels more tenderly than man because her training as mother has developed that faculty in her to a very large extent. Every Indian woman despite her age and position, feels such motherly tenderness, but the Indian women have a chance to humanise our reform movements, to liven them up with motherly love and charity. Women in other parts of the world have contributed very largely to the evolution of the human race. In times of war women played the great part of nursing the sick and wounded and helping man in very many other ways on the field of battle when their national independence was at stake. There is ample scope for public work in times of peace. They can be teachers, doctors, artists, musicians, industrialists and thousand and one occupations in which men are employed.

LEGISLATION

There is also a good deal to be done in legislation. The Hindu father leaves all his property movable and immovable to his sons and nothing can be claimed in law by a daughter by the right of inheritance as a son claims. No doubt woman has a right to hold exclusively some property known as *Stridhana* but the rights of inheritance

in her father's estate do not disclose a liberal heart in a Hindu father. The condition of a Muhammadan daughter is not so bad as that of her Hindu sister. In a progressive and civilised community such utter neglect of daughters' rights of inheritance when there are sons is to be rectified. The sister is thrown among bhandus to inherit to her brother. The widow of a pre-deceased son in a joint family has no legal right to be maintained against her father-in-law who has no ancestral property in his hands. It is not the province of this little book to quote all the disabilities of Hindu women. It is simply suggested that human legislation must be so directed as to secure the status of woman as an equal of man. So also in the Qur'-anic law. The husband can divorce his wife by *talak* without any mistake shown on the part of the wife. The son of a pre-deceased son of a Muhammadan while there is another son surviving him at his death cannot inherit to his grandfather along with his uncle.

These are only some of the many incidents which require some legislative reform. But in other matters society must be taught of the existing evils and self-reform must originate of its own accord. We are all human beings. We are expected to know our responsibilities and legislation cannot always come to your help. Crimes occur every day not because penal laws are not stringent but moral fibre in society is very weak.

Excessive legislation is always the symptom of a diseased society. It is the excessive and stringent legislation of Manu and other smriti-writers that makes the Hindu what he is to-day. "The more corrupt a state is, the more legislation it has," says Tacitus. The essential privilege of law is to defend the canon of equality that all must have equal treatment by the law, as the broad inevitable resultant.

right of free citizenship. A state can progress only when every citizen can feel that law protects his rights and the assurance that no injustice will be done to him creates a healthy sense of independence which is a necessary element of true progress. When common men and women are afraid of the inequality of law, they fall on evil ways. Society becomes rotten when one citizen as against another can overpower him or undermine him by law wielded with an uneven hand. Law becomes a curse in human society. Justice conserves the rights of all and commands the duties of all, issues its decrees that right and duty must dwell together in the peace of mutuality. In this mutuality of rights and of duties both can be evolved into that harmony wherein law is vindicated, force restrained and progress made possible. Then only peace becomes the every-day achievement of social life.

EDUCATION

The burning topic of the day is what is the education that should be imparted to our Indian youths. Sir John Seely, the historian, referring to the discussion in the British Parliament in 1833, says, "Never on this earth was a more momentous question discussed," and it can be well said now, never was greater havoc done to the intellectual progress of India than when they decided in favour of English education in India in accordance with the famous minute of Macaulay. The English education is very costly and soul-killing, for the Indians have to master the idiom, the spelling and the pronunciation of a foreign language and much of their life-time is wasted in learning the language itself. What after all is the good done by English Universities to India? After a century of English education our man-hood has degenerated. Better bid good-bye to such curriculum of education than still cling to

it. English education can never elevate the people of India. There is the element of discord ingrained in it. The English education is developing slave-mentality. People receive English education only to get some appointment in the British government. So in all government offices we find the jealousy between clerk and clerk, officer and officer each complaining that his service and university qualifications are overlooked. The English school is a factory to manufacture such clerks whose outlook is carrying tales against each other before their superiors so that their claims may be well looked after. It trains the mind of the youth to a sort of cringing mentality which is detrimental to the healthy progress of society. What after all is the nature of the education imparted in English schools? An Indian student is not taught Indian history. It is only an optional subject while English history is compulsory. No definite line of study is adopted to enable a man to be successful in his routine of profession. A man becomes a mathematics graduate studying Differential Calculus and Astronomy and undergoes training in the law college for a year or two and becomes a lawyer. He will have nothing to do with them in a court of law nor has a Chemistry graduate with his knowledge of Chemistry, nor a Physics graduate, with his knowledge of Physics. Yet one must become a graduate in any of these branches before he can step into any class in the law college. Such is the sort of education which English Universities are imparting in India. Knowledge of Chemistry is useful for technological students. Is there one technological institute in the whole of India? Physics and Chemistry are useful to students preparing for industrial studies. Is there one well-equipped industrial institute in the whole of India? There can never be an emptier boast than that the study of Macaulay and Burke created love of freedom in the Indian

heart. The Persians, the Arabs and the Afghans are far more in advance in the development of self-government in their countries. Why? Have they ever read Macaulay or Burke or Milton or Shelley? The Buddhistic culture extended as far as the Caspian Sea, the Islands of Japan the Malay Peninsula and Ceylon and its civilisation became the leading factor in Asian history during the reign of a single sovereign, Asoka. What do you say of English culture being hammered on the minds of Indian youths for over a century? It has produced barren effects in spite of the great temptations held out before it of securing of high lucrative appointments under the British government. The English culture in India is like a house of cards which will tumble down by the slightest touch of some employment in some government office. It can never invoke the zeal for righteousness in the Indian youth. Bits of algebra, geometry, scraps of historical knowledge and a confusion in the idiom of English language are some of the attainments of an Indian youth after a laborious study in English schools, going to school regularly like a jatka horse fully harnessed from morn till eve. On the other hand' Sanskrit education has elevated many Englishmen and Europeans. It presented before their intellectual gaze the treasures of Aryan culture, and a knowledge of the inner forces working in man. Wilson's policy would have borne greater beneficent results than the root-and-branch methods of Macaulay who wanted to sweep away all Hindu culture, everything of the past and to modernise entirely on English lines—to write on the clean slate of the Indian mind the word "English." The school of educationists that followed him took up the parallel afforded by the Roman Empire as their ideal and justification and quoted it in season and out of season. Just as the provinces of Gaul and Spain were Romanised, so they imagined that India would be

anglicised by education. They openly declared that they wished to make educated Indians "more English than the English." I shall quote the opinion of C. F. Andrews, the great English educationist principal of a first grade college at Delhi, on this point :

"A deeper study of Roman history might have checked their enthusiasm. Dill and Bigg have in recent years pointed out how ruinous the Romanising process was. The former writer pictures to us the educated classes in Gaul writing bad complimentary Latin verses to one another, while their own people were sinking beneath a weight of debt and evil custom. The latter writer narrates what happened, in the following trenchant words: "The Roman schools in the provinces aimed at producing good government officials and the officials whom they sent forth in crowds were corrupt, insolent, servile, and incapable. They aimed at producing poets, historians, orators, and men of letters. Yet the more they projected their system, the more did art and letters decline. What was wanted was a literature of the people. There were plenty of men who might have written it, but they were condemned to silence by the tyranny of the windy, vapouring "rhetoric." Dr. Bigg goes on to show how only by the indigenous growth of the Christian Church, appealing in its hymns and vernacular writings to the hearts of common people, was the situation saved from utter ruin. Other considerations might have exposed the fallacy of supposed parallel to the Roman empire. Gaul and Spain were very scantily peopled; probably the combined population of both provinces was only 2 millions. India consists to-day of a population of 315 millions. Again Gaul and Spain were almost destitute of culture, literature, religion and civilisation. India can point to one of the most imposing civilisations and religious developments in the world. The Indian past is no blank page. It is rather like an illuminated manuscript, partly worn away and needing revision, but still most precious for the subject matter it contains. To neglect the past of India is to fail to utilise the deepest springs of Indian national life. The idea of anglicising over 300 million people scattered in thousands of villages, needs only to be stated to reveal its inherent impossibility."

The English education has stamped out all originality, and instead of making all Indians Englishmen it has

made them slaves of English culture, apes of English manners, advocates of English civilisation and supporters of English bureaucracy. For anything to be built upon there must be a basis. What then is the basis of the present-day Indian culture? Most of the youths that graduate in the English universities have very little to learn from the past of their own country. The moment they enter upon the course of their studies prescribed for making them fit to enter on collegiate life, copies of English History and English poems are compulsorily taught and the history of their country and their vernacular are but secondary subjects. The youth stands bewildered at the very outset of his studies because his knowledge is not linked with his home experience and a boy of eight is taught how an English mother serves tea to her children, how English boys play with snow balls and how English peasants go to sell their articles in English markets and so on. It is admitted on all hands that the Vedas contain the history, the culture, the art, the science, the philosophy and what not of Aryan culture. If the Hindu mind is to be linked to the achievements of their ancestors and the civilisation of a greater India is to be built, every Hindu youth must know what all is stated in the Vedas about the early Aryans and then the mind must be shown fresh avenues to develop on lines which our western brethren have chalked out for the rapid growth of human civilisation. So long as the Vedas are not popularised and scholars and critics have not brought them within the common knowledge of every Hindu it will be impossible for any Hindu to build up a bright future for his country on his glorious past. By this it should never be understood that all we require for our modern progress had already been thought out and described in the Vedas.

and we have simply to blindly follow the canons of law therein described. If you take the History of Europe you will find that modern Europe is the handiwork of Luther and Erasmus. The one introduced Reformation and the other Renaissance. Lord Acton says that modern Europe is the combination of Reformation and Renaissance. The sixteenth century in Europe witnessed an upheaval and a change which were due to Renaissance and Reformation of Religion. The former stirred more especially the rising middle classes and made them eager and even more clamorous in their demand for the reform of ancient abuses. But if Reformation had not come to its aid and given the new progressive impulse European History would have been as dark as it was before the 16th century. The Reformation did not stop with the middle classes only, it went deeper and moved the masses. The two movements together created a new social and political order. The English education no doubt brought new ideas, new culture, new civilisation and new manners, but if the old Aryan ideas, culture, civilisation had been adjusted to the new ideas, there would certainly have been Renaissance and Reformation also would have progressed in rapid strides. But his past is condemned and the inglorious mediæval. India is looked upon as the past, and the English education by its strong contrast with the mediæval past and its intolerance of any other culture but its own has made the Hindu a wreck in culture, for he cannot stand on his own, for he has a contempt for it because he is ignorant of it, nor can he assimilate the new on account of its intolerance with the system into which it wants to fit itself. The result is that the foreign civilisation is execrated out of the Indian national organism. If there is to be a real progress in the country the Hindu must be popularised with all that is contained in the Vedas and

when he is quite conversant with them he must be shown the contrast of what he was and of what he should be. The Mussalman must be made familiar with Qur'an which is a religio-social-economic-political history of the Arabs. Then the Mussalman must be made to realise that amity with other races of India is absolutely necessary for his social and religious well-being and he must be familiarised with the modern notions that are convulsing the peoples of the earth. So also the Bible may be taught. The Indian must be made familiar with the history of the past of his own race, he must be taught his own vernacular, mathematics and science, painting, drawing, sculpture, industrial studies and as a matter of option foreign languages as English, French, etc. At present the reverse process is adopted. Too much prominence is given to the study of English language and English History while his knowledge of his country and vernacular is a blank page. His racial instincts do not allow him to think as an Englishman does in the English language and so the Indian does not shine well either in English or in his vernacular, on account of want of racial back-ground in the former and his ignorance of the latter, and a large amount of vitality is spent away in mastering the idiom of a foreign language. Vedas, Qur'an and Bible are to be taught not with sectarian religious motives but as a course of secular studies to know what all the ancients had thought of God and man and what their ancient social and political institutions were. How many Hindus are spending lots of Rupees in building new temples while the old temples are in ruins and nobody can be found to light a lamp in them! They are in their turn after a few years abandoned by men. Most of them become the abodes of bats and vermin. Has any Hindu come forward to popularise the Vedas? Has the Hindus ever formed an association to publish the four

Vedas and Upanishads in a cheap and popular edition so that it may be within the easy reach of every Hindu who must know them. Are there vernacular translations of the Vedas? Are they published completely in any vernacular with vernacular annotations so that they may be within the easy comprehension of the masses? Unless Hinduism awakens from its apathy to the Vedas and refuses to base its doctrines on subsequent texts as Puranas and Mahatmyams and the Hindu goes to the root of religious doctrine there can never be a hope of a regenerated India. After the Bible was popularised old truths, long hidden under Papal error, were re-discovered by the reformers. The blessed Bible which the Roman Church had done its utmost to destroy and keep it away from the people, was printed in the language of the people and it shed its glorious light wherever it was read. Thousands and tens of thousands shook off the intolerable yoke of Rome, gave up its degrading idolatry and became protestants. The night of error passed away and the day of truth and liberty broke over the world. A great historical criticism developed about the incidents of the Bible. A sort of higher criticism about the transcendental affairs also appeared on the scene. If any clergyman says, "The Bible says so and so" the reformer asks "what about historical criticism? What about the higher criticism? Are you sure that what you say is authentic, and that there are not many interpolations found therein, that many errors may not have crept in? Why should any particular book be kept sacred, while all the scriptures of the world have to justify themselves in the face of scholarship, in the face of knowledge? Real scriptures do not suffer by wide-spread circulation essentially. Only the dross is burnt away and the pure gold remains. The Veda should be thrown into the furnace of criticism without any fear or doubt, knowing

that the fire can burn the rubbish and the gold will shine out the purer after that fire is put out.

A pearl merchant at Bahrein, East Arabia, at his own expense and on his own initiative, printed an entire edition of a Qur'an commentary for free distribution. In Lahore and Calcutta, there are a large number of Muslims who explain the Qur'an to the masses. The Christian missionary societies have made the Bible accessible to all. A well-bound edition of the Bible can be had for 4 annas. The Hindu builds temples which generally become the abodes of bats afterwards but never considers the intellectual aspect of his religion, the popularising of the Vedas and the Upanishads. Large societies must be formed in every province to supply the translation of the Vedas in their own vernacular so that people may know what the Aryan culture is.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore says in *Viswabharati* (*Quarterly*) about the present education as follows :—

“ All this time we have been receiving education on purely western lines. When this first began western culture was imbued with a supreme contempt for that of the east. And to this day consequently we have been brought up in this contempt. This speaks of internal dissensions within the temple of mother Saraswati. Her eastern sons kept closed the door leading to the western side for fear of adulteration, and her western sons barred their eastern windows through want of respect. Meanwhile, the system of education in India remained and still remains absurdly un-Indian, making no adequate provision for our own culture. We have here not even anything like the facility which the German student enjoys in Germany for the study of the lore of the Hindu and the Moslem. And if we have become conscious of this vital deficiency in our education that is because of the spirit of the times. A certain number of us do not admit that our culture has any special features of value. These good people I leave out of account. But the number of those others is not few, who, while admitting this value in theory, ignore it more or less in practice. Very often the

flourishing of the banner of this culture is not for the sake of love of Truth but for that of national vain-gloriousness—like brandishing a musical instrument in athletic display before one's own admiring family instead of using it to make music. This section of our people while neglecting to make proud boasts of their country's glory, have an absurdly narrow conception of the ideal in which that glory consists. Their indiscriminate reverence is for the actual, not for the eternal. The habits and customs of our decadence which have set up barriers between us and the world, splitting us into mutually exclusive sections, making us weak and bowing our heads in shame at every turn of our later history—these are the idols of their special worship, which they endow with endless virtues of their own imagining. They consider it to be their sacred mission to retain in perpetuity the waste matter sloughed off by age as the true insignia of our Hindu civilisation; to extol the gleam of the will o' the wisp born of the noxious morass of decay, as more time-hallowed than the light of sun, moon and the stars. Up to now we have not been submitting our own scriptures to the same critical, historical and scientific tests to which we are accustomed in the case of western lore. As if everywhere else in the world the normality of universal law prevails, but the door is barred to it in India, whose history, forsooth, has no beginning and is altogether beyond the province of science! Some god is responsible for its grammar, another for its chemistry, a third for its science of medicine. Everything in this wonderland has been set going once for all, by the co-operation of gods and sages. What critic can be allowed to pry too curiously into an arrangement of such perfection? That is why even our educated men do not feel any qualms in counting our miraculous myths as integral parts of our history.

Therefore it is reckoned as a sin to enquire into the why and wherefore of what we do as Hindus. The ordinary laws of the cause and effect cannot be taken into consideration in India of the infallibles, where the injunctions of the shastras are the one cause of all actions. So when we debate whether sea-voyage is good or bad we have to look into our scriptures to find the reply; and if we want to know whether the presence of a particular person in the room will contaminate the water in our vessels, we must go to a pandit for the solution. If we dare to question why the caste which may handle our milk or our molasses, may not come near our water, or why foreign

food should destroy our caste while foreign strong drink apparently does not, our mouths may be stopped in more senses than one by a stoppage of all supplies.

It seems to me that the one reason for the persistence of these absurdities even in our educated circles, is, that we reserve western science and method only for our school hours while the current tradition and beliefs are imbibed at other times, when, with our school dress we have likewise doffed the school habit and so never come to a mutual understanding. Thus it is no matter of difficulty for us to believe that only in our class lessons we need to be rational; for the rest, if we be but grammatical, that is enough."

SOCIAL PURITY—ANTI-DRINK AND ANTI-NAUTCH MOVEMENT.

Mahatma Gandhi insisted that many of his followers should picket at the shops preventing men from drinking, and most of his followers are even now actively working to discourage the nautch movement. Let us know that we are playing fast and loose with our responsibilities as members of society and unconsciously bringing about its extinction by becoming parties to customs that are so demoralising, Dr. Martineau says of the Roman Empire "the most compact and gigantic machinery of society fell to pieces and perished like a mammoth because the sanctities of life were disbelieved even in the nursery; no binding sentiment restrained the greediness of appetite and the licentiousness of self-will; the very passions, with whose submission alone society can begin, broke loose again, attended by a brood of artificial and parasitic vices that spread the dissolute confusion." The plague spot in our society is the nautch system which eats into the very vitals of our society and it must lead society to social decay and ruin. All reform must begin with the reform of the individual and the reform of the individual begins when he lives a life of openness and virtue and makes that the basis of all

progress both individual and social. Let men be convinced of your moral excellence. Insist on others also that they should lead lives of rectitude. Every reform must suffer so long as we do not preach and practise the gospel of a pure life." If once this sentiment animates your heart, you will feel that you can overcome all opposition and prejudice. Bills have been introduced in the Bombay and Calcutta councils for legislation on social purity. Unless the individual takes into his head to purify himself and purify the society in which he lives any amount of legislation cannot create a healthy atmosphere in which either individual or national development becomes possible. It is the constant endeavour of every one that can keep society pure. The road to destruction is smooth and slippery and when once an individual allows himself to be given the slip he will be found in the mire of corruption and the consequent ruin.

PROGRESS

No healthy society can exist without a constant attempt on the part of its people to better their condition. To be satisfied with existing conditions and to follow a *laissez-faire* policy is to court destruction and subjection. When people lose their virility to oppose all that retards progress and does harm to society they acquiesce in the continuance of evil customs and compromise with every fresh environment that changing social and political conditions bring about.

ILLEGAL COMPROMISE

Compromise may be useful temporarily, but when the idea is left off and people travel far away from it deterioration sets in. To reach the idea and not to go away from it should be the aim of every individual in society.

Herbert Spencer says, "If amidst all those compromises which the circumstances of the times necessitate or are thought to necessitate, there exists no true conception of better and worse in social organisation, if nothing beyond the exigencies of the moment are attended to, and the proximately best is habitually indented with the ultimately best, there cannot be any true progress. However distant may be the goal and however often intervening obstacles may necessitate deviation in our course toward it, it is obviously requisite to know whereabouts it lies." Even great men have a tendency to compromise in their weak moments. Even the great prophet Muhammad once yielded to this temptation. But he being the greatest of men found out his mistake immediately and it is the perception of his mistake that enabled him to spread Muhammadanism all over the world, or else it could not have embraced three continents, the whole of northern Africa, southern Europe and western Asia. Every reformer, if he had fallen a victim to the demon of compromise, must wake up and march to the ideal of progress but not acquiesce with the existing evil. I will give a brief description how the great prophet compromised, found his mistake and retracted from his compromise. The persecution of the Muslims became so vexatious that all who were not under the patronage of the powerful families were given leave to fly to Abyssinia, which they did. At this time even the rigidity of Muhammad's puritanism was relaxed, and in a weak moment he attempted a compromise between his new faith and old. Muir's *Life of Muhammad* Vol II: "On a certain day, the chief men of Mecca, assembled in a group beside the Kaaba, discussed, as was their wont, the affairs of the city, when Muhammad appeared, and seating himself by them in a friendly manner, began to recite in their hearing Sura LIII. The chapter opens with a description

of the first visit of Gabriel to Muhammad, and of a later vision of that angel, in which certain heavenly mysteries were revealed. It then proceeds—

“ And see, ye not La’t and Uzza
And Mana’t the third besides ? ”

La’t and Uzza and Mana’t are Arabian Goddesses. When he had reached these verses the devil suggested an expression of the thoughts which for many a day had possessed his soul, and put into his mouth words of reconciliation and compromise, the revelation of which he had been longing for from God, namely :—

“ These are the exalted maidens
And verily their intercession is to be hoped for.”

The Kevaish were surprised and delighted with this acknowledgment of their deities ; and as Muhammad wound up the Sura with the closing words :—

“ Wherefore bow down before Allah and serve Him ? ”

the whole assembly prostrated themselves with one accord on the ground and worshipped. And all the people were pleased at what Muhammad had spoken, and they began to pray :—‘ Now we know that it is the Lord alone that giveth life and taketh it away, that createth and supporteth. These our goddesses make intercession with Him for us ! and as thou hast conceded unto us a portion, we are content to follow thee.’ But their words disquieted Muhammad and he retired to his house.”

The scandalised indignation of his followers warned him that he was on the wrong track, and hastily attributing the verse about the “ exalted maidens ” to the suggestion of

Satan he returned to his former uncom promising attitude ; and the Abyssinian refugees who had returned, probably on hearing that a reconciliation had taken place, went back to Abyssinia, where they remained till after Muhammad himself had fled to Yathrab, afterwards called Medina. If Muhammad had compromised with the old superstitions, Muhammadanism would never have been the religion of 200 millions of the human race, extending all over the world. The world would not have known the noble teachings of that great prophet of Arabia. When a man acquiesces in the evil that sorrounds him he is no longer a man because the instinct of discrimination between right and wrong becomes dead and that which we call conscience becomes dead in him. Thus the Hindu fell from the high pedestal which his ancestors had occupied by compromising with the evil customs that surrounded him. In the whole world there is no country so vast, so populous, so ancient in civilisation that is ruled by a foreigner for ages and ages together, nay by even a handful of foreigners. Why ! It is because the Hindu is ruled by the grand-mother in his home. Every noble sentiment that arises in his breast is calmed down by the advice of the grandam. The strength of Christianity lies in the fact that Christ never yielded to the promptings of Satan on the mount of Temptation. In fact no individual can advance unless he expresses his righteous indignation on everything that is base and contemptible, that is inhuman and abominable, that is unjust and partial. John Morley in his work on "Compromise" says that men who are led away by a spirit of "illegitimate compromise" are apt to say to their society, "I cannot persuade you to accept my truth ; therefore I will pretend to accept your falsehood." It is said that when the Roman senate ordained that the book "the History of Creometius Cordo" should be burnt, a Roman stood forth saying, 'cast

me also into the flames, for I know that history by heart." Moralising on this the great Italian patriot, Mazzini, says, "You may kill men, you cannot kill a great idea." Let the tag-rag and hob-tail of society ridicule you, persecute you and even prosecute you but they can never kill the ideas of which you are an embodiment, nor can they uproot the moral influence which you exercise on the society. The history of man proclaims that human progress had been possible because men have appeared who realised the spirit of progress in their own lines, withstood calumny and persecution and lived and died for it. "Muhammud," says Carlyle, "stood by the glorious majority of one." When Muhammad wanted to reform the Arabic religion nobody in the beginning helped him. It was by the strength of his convictions that he converted the whole of Arabia to his faith during his life-time. A few poor slaves and out-caste Hebrews were able to hold their own and make conversions of people around them to their faith while Rome displayed its greatness even in death. Martin Luther was able to withstand all persecutions and convert the whole of Europe to his reformed views.

Statesmen, poets, men of science, inventors, all no doubt contribute to social progress, but the initial moving force for the progress of society comes from those great men who, by the power of lofty character and noble deeds, sweep away debasing customs, stamp out superstitions, open new paths, set forth new ideals for the elevation of man. All individuals whether great or humble may set the ball of progress in motion. Mr. John Morley says, "What we see every day with increasing clearness is that not only the well-being of the many, but the chances of exceptional genius, moral or intellectual, in the gifted few, are highest in a society where the average interest, curiosity, capacity

are all highest." The humblest individual can come to the help of the genius and can contribute to the gradual raising of the average standard of national sense in the community.

In fact the whole history of reform had been the history of men who moved ahead of their society. Reform is effected only when those who feel its need and are convinced of its utility not only preach but also act. Muirhead says, "The opponents of useful reforms are drawn from the same class as at the same time blindly resisted the establishment of the form or institution to which they themselves blindly cling. Those who build the sepulchres of the prophets and garnish the tombs of the righteous are the children of those who slew them." Society has naturally a tendency to cast its members in the iron-mould of custom and superstition. It is the duty of the educated to break that cast-iron mould of custom and superstition. To move with the society means death and decay for it is only to move in the well-cut grooves of old ways. It is only by moving ahead of it and showing it the way onwards that you can get it to move on. There are no instances in history of any society moving towards a reform, unless that reform was initiated by its more daring spirits who were spirited and courageous enough to go ahead of it, and thus inspired into its more timid members some of their own impulses and courage. Mr. John Frier Hibben says, "Progress has often been due to a thorough revolution of existing social conditions and customs, and this in turn has been gradually achieved through the insistence of the prophet of individualism, whose voice has been raised against the trammels of public opinion and the chains of custom. It is impossible to eliminate the individual factor. If it had been possible, we should see greater uniformity than we find." "Move on and move on" must be the motto of every reformer.

Mere reasoning that such and such customs are good and others are bad will never enable us to elevate our society. Most of our educated Indians are ready to dissolve anything by agreement but they are not at least as much ready to construct anything. Construction is a far harder task than dissolution, for the former rests upon feeling, instinct and will, while the latter on intellect, reasoning and learning. If real reform is to be effected it must be done by example rather than by precept. Let yourself and not your words preach for you. You must make all the principles of reform practical maxims of your life and you must be habituated to those maxims. Mr. Montague, in his "Limits of Individual Liberty," says, "Before the principles gain sufficient strength there must be something more than an abstract purity, for when you merely canvass the principles too long, you make people doubt them and disregard them, you only breed moral scepticism, since to mere logical discussion people owe very little." Example and action are more essential to the success of all reform, be it religious, political, economical or social, than preaching and theory. "Men," says Tennyson, "since they are not gods, must rise on stepping stones of their dead selves." Benjamin Kidd, in his "Social Evolution," says, "we have lost the qualities which contribute to social efficiency."

SOCIAL EFFICIENCY.

The social efficiency depends on the hope of realisation of our cherished ambition of national independence. Speaking of the prosperity of nations Mr. Lockey says in his political value of history: "The foundation of social efficiency is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth and of public spirit, in simple habits, in

courage, uprightness, and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment, which springs quite as much from character as from intellect. If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, observe carefully whether these qualities are increasing or decaying. Observe specially what qualities count for most in public life. Is character becoming of greater or less importance? Are the men who obtain the highest posts in the nation, men of whom in private life and irrespective of party, competent judges speak with genuine respect? Are they of sincere convictions, consistent lives, indisputable integrity?" No doubt the individual influence is a very potent factor of influence in human society but the collective activity of a large number moving together *i. e.* the people organised as a nation plays a good deal in fixing the place a nation deserves in the scale of nations. It is this ability to move in an organised mass that contributes largely to social efficiency which decides the superiority of races. Mr. Benjamin Kidd says, "Not even the possession of high intellectual capacity can science give us any warrant for speaking of one race as superior to another. The evolution which man is undergoing is over and above everything else a social evolution. There is, therefore, but one absolute test of superiority. It is only the race possessing in the highest degree the qualities contributing to social efficiency that can be recognised as having any claim to superiority. But these qualities are not as a rule of the brilliant order, nor such as strike the imagination. Occupying high place among them are such characteristics as strength and energy of character, humanity, probity and integrity, and simple-minded devotion to conceptions of duty in such circumstances as may arise." Whatever institution, custom, belief or notion retards the development

of social efficiency should be modified, discouraged, and others more subservient to this end should be gradually evolved. On the whole what we require is firstly freedom, 2ndly freedom, 3rdly freedom, 4thly freedom. The first is religious freedom—freedom to adopt the religion which one thinks best suited to his intellect, his conscience, his pursuits and his attainment of salvation. Christ was crucified when he dissented with the paganism of Rome. The persecution of Huguenots, the Inquisition, the escape of the Pilgrim Fathers to America, the Thirty Years' War, the Crusades, speak of the religious persecution in Europe and Western Asia. In India, too, the persecution of the Buddhists by Sankaracharya discloses a horrid tale of massacre and bloodshed. In the name of established religion the grossest atrocities were committed on humanity. The history of humanity is the struggle of man for freedom. Freedom is the life of humanity. In countries where there is no freedom the people are dead to all noble impulses. If there is fire in the cinders even a tiger will fly away and when the fire is extinguished even an ant can boldly go over the cold cinder. Freedom is that fire. A nation without freedom is dead. Freedom is their life. Freedom gives tone and strength to the national organism. Freedom rectifies all disorders in the organism. Freedom supports itself, protects itself and failing to do so dies in the end. This is the law of all life, social, political and economical. The 2nd freedom is political freedom—freedom to overcome despotism, freedom to save his country from internal troubles and external invasions, freedom to legislate, freedom of press and freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to represent the best interests of the country in national assemblies, freedom to have access to every office in the state, freedom to protest every illegal measure, and freedom to domicile in any state.

Every one must so use his freedom as not to infringe on the like freedom of his neighbour. Every one must care for the freedom of his country and the preservation of nationality and be ready to sacrifice his individual freedom for that end, or else society breaks up and becomes disorganised and falls a prey to foreign domination. The 3rd freedom is economic freedom—freedom to refuse to pay illegal taxes, freedom to claim equal taxation, freedom to take up any profession for which a man is best fitted by his ability, both intellectual and physical, freedom to form trade unions, freedom to trade freely on land and sea, and freedom for every individual to enrich himself by all legitimate and proper means. The fourth freedom is social freedom—freedom of every man and woman to marry whom he or she likes without restraint of caste, creed, race, nationality or religion, freedom of man, woman and child, freedom from the cruel tyranny of parents, freedom to choose the food which a man or woman likes, freedom from the unjust control of priests, freedom from sectarianism, freedom to read any religious scripture, freedom to divorce cruel husbands and perfidious wives, and freedom to travel over foreign lands without being subjected to social ostracism.

Without freedom no life can grow. The plant requires freedom to raise its head and blossom its flowers and ripen its fruits. If a thorny bush is thrown over it the plant dies. Society tries to fetter man and man struggles to be free.

CHAPTER VI.

OUR BROTHERHOOD.

What has advocated the brotherhood of man as the central tenet of its creed is that well-known society founded by a venerable Russian lady and a well-known American colonel with branches everywhere in this wide world. The Buddhists used to build monasteries so that people can hold in seclusion communion with God, undisturbed by worldly cares. The pious provided them with ample funds so that some men at least, popularly known as monks, may exclusively devote their attention towards the spiritual welfare of the people. As these monks lost their zeal for spiritualism and became worldly-minded, corruption crept into the whole system. Spiritualism gave place to idolatry and superstition. Every human institution is intended to embody a noble sentiment and when that sentiment is neglected the institution decays. The holy order of Buddhist monks was instituted for the purpose of relieving man from Samsara (Transmigration) and enabling him to obtain Nirvana, but when that purpose is neglected the order as a whole perished in India. So shall the Theosophical Society be, if it were to ignore the principle for which it is founded.

The brotherhood of man has been hitherto an ideal and a stage which has not yet been reached by any of the struggling nations of the world. The first and foremost among the nations of the world which wanted to give practical effect to this sentiment, though in a crude and barbarous way, is the Russian nation. The primitive idea of sharing the national wealth, as brothers share the family property, took hold of the Russian mind and the Russian thought that he had cut the Gordian knot when he extorted

from the rich all their wealth and distributed it among the poor. The terror caused by such an inhuman extortion is a vale of misery through which no nation had ever hitherto passed. Most of the nobles of Russia had to fly away either to Berlin or to Sofia to hide their heads from Bolshevik persecution. The great and fertile Russia is a big hollow devoid of all means for the growth of national life, while the surrounding nations are only waiting for an opportunity to rush therein. It is inevitable that a whirlpool on Russian soil will be the out-come of Russian policy, and Russia must be prepared to meet with opposition everywhere. Already she was impotent to oppose Rumania when the latter occupied Basarabia, nor was she able to oppose Japan when she extended her influence in Siberia. The step which Russia advanced is on a very precarious soil. As there is no capital in the hands of individuals, trade was paralysed and the little trade under the control of the state is insufficient to meet the growing needs of the people who were consequently subject to famine, plague and pestilence. As there is still some enthusiasm in the Bolshevik the horrible effects of his policy are not so easily perceptible to the common mind. As there is no individual property all incentive to vigorous action is gone and man works like a limb in the state machine to appease his hunger. After the present enthusiasm ceases, corruption creeps in and the state crumbles to dust as is the case with mediaeval India. But though the great founder of the Theosophical Society is a Russian lady and though her ideal is the same, her attempts to solve the problem of the brotherhood of man are in a different direction and they are more peaceful than those of her countrymen. She suggests the comparative study of all religions and the exploration of the hidden secrets of man by holy communion with God popularly

known in India as Yoga. She expounds the spiritual identity of man as the basis of universal brotherhood. She means by brotherhood an equal treatment of all men as brothers of the same human family. But every institution is apt to degenerate when the sentiment of which it is an embodiment is neglected. In the Theosophical Society, as it exists in India to-day, there are a large number of Hindus to whom the customs of caste are practically more sacred than even the precepts of the Veda. The momentum that is exerted to realise the brotherhood of man is so very little that many of its members are merely satisfied with a mere intellectual assent that the brotherhood of man is the ideal they seek after. They do not move even their little fingers to realise that ideal. Their policy is on the lines of least resistance. Their methods are as old as humanity. They advocate charity, famine relief, mass education, poor feeding, female education, all such common things which they call social service. Some members regard that the Theosophical Society is intended to reinstate the worn out Hindu customs in their pristine purity. In the field of action they are nowhere. Some members still hold that caste is a sacred institution ordained by God to preserve the purity among the races. We see institutions decay as they travel away from noble paths and imbibe evils which in course of time assume such inordinate proportions that it will be impossible after some time to eradicate them. Take for instance the Hindu temple where nautch parties are maintained to attract people when they play with the images, carrying them round and round through the streets. The Theosophical Lodge may be converted into a Hindu temple if it were to be managed solely by Hindus who forget the great object for which the Lodge is intended. Thus fell the great Buddhistic monasteries. Think of the iconoclastic spirit of Muhammad the prophet and the *peer* worship

of Indian sheiks who claim to be the followers of the same Muhammad. All religions when they originate, start with a noble ideal and by degrees the baser spirit in man asserts again, corrupts religion, introduces dogmas, ritualism and other inhuman practices, creates an exclusive spirit that the votaries of a particular creed or dogmas are more favoured in the eyes of God than those of others, hatches up religious bigotry, weaves a net-work of mythology, develops some illogical canons, the violation of which invites the wrath of God, weaves a settled philosophy and sets man against man in ceaseless struggle for religious superiority. On a close and critical study of all religions it will be clear that all religions aim at the common goal—salvation. Hindu theology speaks of four ways of attaining salvation: (1) the Jnana yoga (2) the Raja yoga (3) the Bhakti yoga (4) The Karma yoga. All these four aspects are more or less present in every religion, but each religion takes the predominating aspect as its sole aim. The Hindu chooses the Jnana yoga, the Buddhist the Raja yoga, the Muhammadan the Bhakti yoga and the Christian the Karma yoga. The Upanishads give a comprehensive view of Jnana yoga, the Jatahas contain a vivid exposition of Raja Yoga, the Quar'an portrays the true ideal of Bhakti yoga, and the New Testament upholds the doctrine of sacrifice, which is the spring of all noble actions *i.e.*, Karma yoga. Even among the Hindus the Advaitins insist more on Jnana and Raja yogas, Visishta Adwaitins more on Bhakti yoga and Dwaitins more on Karma yoga. Even in every individual the various aspects predominate in the various stages of his life. In the four stages of man, the Brahmacharya, Grihastha, the Vanaprastha and the Sanyasa, the Brahmachari evinces much of Bhakti, the Grihastha does many noble actions (*i.e.*, Karma), the Vanaprastha adopts the Jnana yoga and the Sanyasi indulges in the Raja yoga.

These are the four chords in the *Vina* of every Religion. The Jnani always covets the knowledge of God, the Raja yogin the communion with God, the Bhakta the devotion to God, and the Karmik the service of God. It is absurd that man should hate man because his neighbour has not adopted the same way he adopted. The weakness of the Jnana yogin consists in trying to reconcile all absurd practices, of the Raja yogin in his indifference to worldly actions, of the Bhakti yogin in his hatred of all other creeds, of the Karma yogin in his ignorance of the transcendental powers. When an aspect only is developed to an abnormal extent we find the various anomalies existing in the various religions. The Hindu who is predominantly a Jnana yogin tries to reconcile the fetish, the demon worship, all superstitious and hellish worships with the worship of the great God. The Buddhist, who is predominantly a Raja yogin develops an indifference to worldly matters and asceticism is the result. The Mussalman who is predominantly a Bhakti yogin, never brooks the insult of setting up a lifeless image in lieu of the all-powerful and mighty God.

In the later decadent period of Hindu religion, the Hindu began to think that Bhakti consisted in well cleaning a copper image with tamarind, painting it all over, decorating it with cloths and other ornaments and keeping bunches of flowers over its head and taking it in procession round and round in the streets. But a real Bhakta of God never thinks of degrading God in such a way. A young child was taken away to a distant place from its father, in whom its affection had been centred. The child began to think of its father and father alone. A number of similar persons resembling the father had been brought. They said, "Your father has come, get up!" She never opened

her eyes, nor did she look at them. She never even cared to drink a cup of water, nor did she condescend to take milk from its mother. Such is the devotion of the child to her father. The father came, she heard his voice, up she rose from her bed, took milk, ate food, skipped and played with her father. Similar is the attitude of a true Bhakta. Muhammad alone had been able to depict clearly what Bhakti really is. He entered Mecca and with his own staff broke the images of Hóbal, the Arabian God, and proclaimed with a stentorian voice that image-worship is degradation of God and the Spirit of God must be worshipped. He is the typical Bhakta and the psychology of Bhakti has no place for image-worship. It is mere sophistry to say that image-worship is a stepping stone to Bhakti. A boy who always tries to recite without learning the language and alphabet will always be a parrot reciter and will never learn to read and write. A society resorting to idolatrous worship can never hope to rise high, nor will it have an inclination to move forward.

The great German philosopher Schopenhauer says:

“As a matter of fact, intolerance is only essential to monotheism and only God is by nature a jealous God who cannot permit any other God to exist. On the other hand, polytheistic gods are by their nature tolerant, they live and let live; they willingly tolerate their colleagues as being gods of the same religion, as this tolerance is afterwards extended to alien gods, who are, accordingly, hospitably received and later on attain the same rights and privileges, as in the case of the Romans, who willingly accepted and venerated Phrygian, Egyptian and other foreign gods. Hence it is the monotheistic religions alone that furnish us with religious wars, persecutions and heretical tribunals, and also the breaking of images, the destruction of the idols of the gods, the overthrowing of Indian temples and Egyptian colossi which had looked on the sun 3,000 years; and all this because a jealous God had said, “Thou shalt make no graven image.”

The most prominent characteristic of the Bhakti school is its irreconcilability with external circumstances

and the complete concentration of the mind on God. 'Islam' literally means submission. Complete submission to God is the central tenet of Islam. Ramakrishna Paramahansa also describes Bhakti as the unconditional surrender without caring for the consequences. It is the supreme confidence of the Bhakta in God which is the prominent feature of the Bhakti school.

"If Muhammad does not go to the mountain, the mountain will go to Muhammad" is the spirit with which a Bhakta surrenders himself to God. A Bhakta always relies on a personal God, who hears his voices, answers his calls, looks after him always, punishes him if he goes wrong, pardons him when he atones, sees all his actions, judges him and protects him. The impersonal aspect of God is wanting in most cases and hazily recognised by some. At a later date arose the Sufi school in Islam by contact with the Jnana school of Hinduism. A crop of Bhakti saints grew up in India, the followers of Ramanand, Kabirpanthis, Malikdasis, Dadupanthis, followers of Mira Bai and Lord Gauranga on the Bengal side, of Nanak in the Punjab, of Tukaram, Ekanath and Namadeva in the Deccan, Babalalis, Prananathis, the Sadhus, the Satnamis, the Shiv-Narayans and the followers of Mahant Rama Charan. This is the outcome of the influence of Bhakti school so prominent a feature of Islam on the Jnana school of Hinduism. After the development of Sufism Muhammadans became tolerant of Hindus. A spirit of catholicity breathes in the poems of later Mahammadan poets. There is a pretty story in the *Mantiq-ut-taiq* of Fariddein Attar which shows the religious tolerance of Persian poets.

One night the words "I hear" came from the presence of God. Gabriel said, "There must be some servant of God calling on Him, a man of pure heart and subdued passion. I must know who he is."

The angel sought in vain through the seven heavens, on sea and on land, in the hills and on the plains. At last by the command of God Gabriel went to Rum. There he found the man he sought praying before an idol.

"Oh Thou Source of all good," cried the angel, "Unveil to me the mystery! This man is invoking an idol, and Thou in Thy grace answerest him."

Then God said, "If from ignorance he has missed the way shall I who know the way not teach him? My grace shall plead for his pardon and bring him to the truth."

This is no isolated instance, but the Persian literature contains many such stories. It is stated therein that all who earnestly seek God, whatever be their religion, will find Him.

When the Muhammadans settled in India as rulers they generally showed regard for the religious susceptibilities of their Hindu subjects. Akbar treated Hindus very kindly. Most of the Persian poets were Sufis and Muslims, having settled in India, were indirectly influenced by the teachings of the Vedanta, for no one living in India can avoid its subtle influence. Prof. Max Muller says, "The Vedanta spirit pervades the whole of India. It is not restricted to the higher classes. It lives in the very language of the people and is preached in the streets and in the forests by mendicant saints."

But in the Bhakti school the ethical tendency decays. Man reduces himself to a mere machine, following certain rules set apart for his guidance, for marriage ceremonies, rituals, and social, domestic and economic life.

The school of Karma yoga sets in motion all noble ideas in human society and the ethical value of Karma yoga is undoubtedly superior to all other yogas. A Karma Yogi has neither the religious intolerance of a Bhakti Yogi,

nor the illegitimate compromise of a Jnana yogin. The State is distinct from religion and society has every opportunity of development by resorting to good deeds. Social and political growth runs in two parallel complex systems, involving various differences of morals, creeds, cultures, races, and canons. Spirit is supreme and fundamental and rite is definitely subordinate to spirit. Nishkama Karma is the ideal of a Karma yogin. The Karma yogin always relies on the Spirit of God as the saviour from all sins and always does things pleasant to Him. Philanthropy, social service, great regard for family life, respect for women are some of the characteristics of a Karma yogin. The Karma yogin feels the power of a Living Person to aid him in his hour of distress. In the Bhagavat Gita Sri Krishna says, "I will be born again and again in every yuga to relieve the earth of its burden of sinners and to save the virtuous and to establish Dharma." So also Christ says, "I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore and have the keys of Hades and of Death." That Living Person in the plenitude of his spiritual power embodies in Himself all the moral forces which go to create a vital and progressive organism; that organism turns out to be a united and independent nation. He is the person who gives the real motive power for the formation and development of that organism. It is why in Christian lands the spirit of nationalism is rampant. Even in the times when Rama and Krishna lived, the spirit of nationalism was at its height in India and the national glory of the Aryans is depicted in the great epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha. It is only the absence of Karma yogins that accounts for the loss of independence in India. India wants men of action but not Hamlet's mere philosophisers. In a country where Karma yogins flourish society as a whole may progress and when

solid welfare alone becomes the end of human existence spiritualism is lost in the bundle of material progress, prosperity, welfare and satisfaction of common wants. The teachings of Christ are completely forgotten by the Christian nations of the world. If Christ were to come to earth again and if he is to go to Kenya he will not be allowed to own land in the highlands and he has to live in the Asiatic quarters; if he is to go to South Africa he will not be allowed to travel in the same tramcar as a European; and if he is to go to America he will not be allowed to settle and acquire a domicile unless he is possessed of a certain number of dollars; and if he is to go to Australia he will not be allowed unless he passes a test in a foreign tongue, being an Asiatic and a labourer, the son of a carpenter by profession. The equality of man taught by Christ is only a spiritual precept, but not intended for practical politics. The church and state are so completely separated that even the ten commandments can be sacrificed for the necessities of the state.

These differences in religion are due to the fact that man, in emphasizing particular aspects of religion, forgets the remaining aspect. The summit of all religions is the salvation of man and the various religions are the innumerable paths leading to the same summit. Besides the Unity of God, which is prevalent through all religions there are also various fossils of ceremonialism growing over every religion. The twice-born Hindu puts a thread on his shoulder and bores holes through his ears; some Mussalmans allow their beards to grow and perform circumcision: all such customs are not the essentials of religion and can be avoided if society thinks they are distinctions without difference in the main principles or retained if they are harmless. The Muslim divides ethical practice into three parts,

what must be done, what may be done and what must not be done, what is enjoined, permitted and forbidden. So if he observes practices which must be done he is true to his religion and he may avoid things which are permitted and are conflicting with the interests and feelings of his neighbours. To maintain the brotherhood there must be a policy of give and take. Men must run smoothly in society so that their angularities may wear away and their idiosyncracies may disappear. Professor Deussen says,

"The gospels fix quite correctly as the highest law of morality, *love your neighbour as your selves*. But why should I do so, since by the order of nature I feel pain and pleasure only in myself, not in my neighbour? The answer is not in the Bible but it is in the Veda. It is in the great formula, "*tatwamasi*" which gives in three words metaphysics and morals together. You shall love your neighbour as yourselves—because you are your neighbour, and mere illusion makes you believe that your neighbour is something different from yourselves. And so the Vedanta, in its unfalsified form is the strongest support of pure morality, is the greatest consolation in the suffering of life and death! Indians, keep to it!"

RACE.

People are apt to say "when there are social differences, how then can the brotherhood be achieved?" Race is one of those ideas difficult to define, which has been a source of discussion among the peoples of the earth. But there is no particular monopoly of intellect, chivalry, courage, morality, physique or statesmanship to any one race. Some are found in some races and others in other races. The success of a people has never depended on their race,

Dr. Emil Reich says in *Success among Nations*,

"Amongst many latter-day historians it has been the fashion to seek an explanation of national pre-eminence in race. This method certainly has the advantage of flattering national vanity, but it cannot claim any great scientific value, as the problems it deals with, though

expressed in a different set of terms, are not brought any nearer the solution. In nearly every instance the racial threads from which a white nation is woven are so inextricably intertwined that it would be quite impossible to determine, even with approximate exactitude, what is the predominant element. Let us then at once set aside the hypothesis of any peculiar virtue inherent in a particular shade of complexion or variety of blood, and seek for a far readier explanation of our facts in the physical conditions under which these nations lived and had their being. We shall then see why it is that the conquering race is so often compelled to bow to the civilisation of the vanquished and advance along their line of development. How often has been the case in Egypt, Babylonia, and even China ! The most ingenious books have been written endeavouring to apply the theory of race to the explanation of the rise of intellect among nations. But the racial theory has been ridden to death. After a long struggle, it is now being eventually abandoned by its most fanatical adherents in the ranks of modern historians. But the average man still pins his faith to it. The ordinary Englishman attributes, and will continue to attribute, the success of his nation to the predominance of Anglo-Saxon stock ; there is something extremely flattering to national pride in the notion. It also permits of a rapid and complete annihilation of the so-called Latin races. The Frenchman is also fired by a kindred admiration of all that has issued from the Gallo-Roman blood, a theory which also allows of the equally rapid and complete disposal of all that is Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon. We have already shown how absolutely impossible and inapplicable such theories are in the scientific study of history. Race is quite impossible of identification, and where we can to some extent follow out the lines of ethnographical demarcation it does not in any degree correspond with the national frontier. We must seek for some more substantial basis on which to found our theories of the causes of intellectual growth."

Mr. G. Spiller says in his paper, "*The Problem of Racial Equality*" in the *First Universal Races Congress*, "We need not include in our problem every tribe and race whatsoever, but only the vast aggregate of mankind, say, China, Japan, Turkey, Persia, India, Egypt, Siam, the Negro, the American Indian, the Philippino, the Malay, the Maori, and the fair, white and dark-white races. These constitute, perhaps nine-tenths of the human race. We are then under the necessity of concluding that an impartial investigator would be inclined to look upon the various

impotent peoples of the world as, to all intents and purposes, essentially equals in intellect, enterprise, morality and physique."

In the paper on "*The Rationale of Autonomy*," contributed to same congress by Mr. John M. Robertson, M. P., we read, "It would seem that a first step towards a scientific or even a quasi-rational view of the problem must be to put aside the instinctive hypothesis that faculty for self-government is a matter of race. If the problem be reduced to its elements, in short, it will be found that none of the *a priori* arguments against autonomy for any race have any scientific validity. As a matter of fact, practical autonomy exists at this moment amongst the lowest and the most retrograde races of the earth; and probably no experienced European administrator, who has ever carried his thinking above the levels of that of a frontier trader, will confidently say that any one of these races would be improved by setting up over them any system of white man's rule which has yet been tried."

Emerson in his "Essay on History" says, "There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same...What Plato has thought he may think; what a saint has felt he may feel; what at any time has befallen any man he can understand. Who hath access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent."

Jean Finot in 'Race Prejudice' says,

"It is impossible to attribute immutable psychological qualities to certain peoples or races. Their virtues and their vices are only the effects of historic circumstances or of the influence of the milieu. Savage peoples enter triumphantly into our civilisation just as civilised peoples fall back into barbarisms. Within the space of 50 years the Negroes have realised as much progress as many white peoples have done in five or six centuries. The history of civilisation is only a continual come and go of peoples and races. All without distinction of their biological characteristics, are summoned to this great struggle for life wherein we fight for human progress and happiness. All the ethnical elements can take part in it. Such is the general import of our biological and sociological equality, which remains intact underneath all our superficial divisions. In one word, the term race is only a product of our mental activities; the work of our intellect, and outside all reality. Races, as irreducible categories, only exist as fictions in our brains. They exist in us but not outside us."

Sir Charles Bruce, in his paper on "The modern conscience in relation to the treatment of dependent peoples and communities," contributed to the First Universal Races Congress, says, "In conclusion, it is submitted that in the treatment of dependent peoples and communities the modern conscience rejects as a fallacy the claim of western civilisation to a monopoly of the capacity of self-government based on an indivisible inter-relation between European descent, Christianity and the so-called white colour. It recognises that, while this inter-relation has evolved a capacity for self-government in an appropriate environment, a similar capacity has been evolved by an inter-relation of other races, creeds and colours appropriate to other environments. It maintains, therefore, that the conflict between East and West must be adjusted on the same principle that has adjusted the conflicts of race and creed in the West,—the principle of freedom interpreted as liberty of person and conscience and equality of opportunity for all, without distinction of race, creed, or colour, under a settled government. History, reason, and recent experience in Japan warn us that the adjustment must be made not in the spirit of the popular refrain East is East and West is West, but in the spirit of a nobler poetic formula 'God's in the Occident, God's in the Orient.' This is the spirit of the modern conscience in the treatment of dependent peoples and communities."

A league for the equality of races was organised in India to proclaim the principle of democracy as between the races, the equality of rights, the right to equality not only of the individual in the nation, but also of all races in Humanity and to assure respect for *human* dignity in every man, whatever be his race or colour.

It declares, "In the name of *History* which all times and all races have written—history that shows us all the families of men mounting and descending across the dawns and the evenings of time, and taking by turns the lead of human progress; in the name of *Sciences*, daughter of all the civilisation of the earth, light of all, that brightens and grows in each, and teaches that the races of men are made one from the other, for never in the course of ages have they ceased to exchange their thoughts and to mingle their blood; in the name of the *Religions*, to which all races give their saints, revealers

and guides, and which say to us: "In all living beings the Being One and Changeless, in all separate beings the Being indivisible" (Bhagavat Gita 18-20).

"This world is a Republic of all, whose citizens are formed of one and the same substance." (Epictetus—conversations 14-24).

"We are every one members of another world." (Epistle to the Romans 12-5.)

"You are all issued one from the other"—Koran.

"To love one's neighbour as oneself." (Confucius—Lun-Yu. 1, IV. 5).

"To do towards others as we would that they should do towards us." (Dhammapada, 129).

"Five continents—one family" (Chinese Buddhistic inscription).

In the name of *Humanity*, multiple and one, whose whole body feels the injury done to a single one of its members, in the name of Humanity rich by the diversity, strong by the solidarity of its races; progressing in the progress of them all and in all the free development of their forms:

In the name of *Human Peace*—for without mutual respect there is no peace;

In the name of *Reason*—which tends towards Unity, and of the Soul which lives by love.

BEAUTY—COLOUR.

The great demon that is throttling Humanity at the present day is the colour bar. The exclusion of coloured races in colonies reserved for white peoples, and the restrictions for admission of coloured peoples into white countries are the causes at work which will bring about a world war whereby the colour prejudice may be wiped out of the face of the earth. The *Sama Veda*, the *Chandogya Upanishat* and the *Ramayana* speak of such

a world cataclysm in the human race between the Suras and the Asuras when Devendra was the King of Suras and Virochana of Asuras and thenceforward never did Humanity witness such a catastrophic war. The conflict between the white and coloured races is growing keener day by day. The growth of population, intensity of the struggle for existence, increased communication, growth of knowledge, assertion of Asian consciousness, economic exploitation of the coloured races, a closer contact of cultures and other innumerable causes have aggravated the situation. Added to this is the white man's conquest of the sea, leading in the case of the English to world dominion and it only remains for the common sense of Humanity to judge whether a peaceful settlement cannot be arrived at without indulging in a cruel and devastating war. Emerson says "Wars, fires, plagues break up immoveable routine, clear the ground of rotten races, and dens of distemper and open a fair field to new men. There is a tendency in things to right themselves; and the war or revolution or bankruptcy that shelters a rotten system, allows things to take a new and natural order." The colour prejudice was existing even from early Aryan times. The Aryans were white in colour and they were afraid that if the Aryans were to contract marriages with the mixed population around them their people may lose the fairness of their skin. So there was *chaturvarna* of peoples around them. The pure-blooded Aryan was white. Inter-marriages had brought about a red type—inter-marriages with the great warrior race of the Toltecs, whom the Aryans first fought and then fraternised with, so that you have great groups of red-brown people in North India and Rajputana. Inter-marriages with the Mongol with whom all trade was carried on and the intermixture of the Aryan and Mongol gave rise to a yellow type. Inter-marriages with the aborigines who served

them and the intermixture of the Aryan and the aborigines gave rise to a black type. Differences in the colour of skin are due to climate but they need not be due to differences in race. "Captive Greece held Rome captive" is also true in India. You can say "Captive India held Europe captive." The ideas of segregation and colour prejudice which have been hitherto the exclusive monopoly of the Hindu are thoroughly imbibed by the European. But Nature is always ready to bestow the same reward on all those who use her laws in a particular direction. Nature is ready to paint 'Slave' on the face of one who tries to enslave others. The Hindu segregated the *pariah* outside the village and treated him with contempt and he had his reward for it. Oxygen and Hydrogen when chemically combined become water in India as well as in England. Natural laws are always the same and inviolable. The European has learnt from the Hindu the caste principles. He is to be painted as the Hindu. The Hindu has caste marks of white, red, yellow and black colours on his face. The European also smears cherry blossom to give tone to his white complexion. Both are trying to shine in painted faces. This painting to show the superiority over others is a relic of savage temperament. When Darwin visited the island of Terro del Fugo, all savages appeared before him in white, red, yellow and black paints all over their bodies, on the forehead, on the chest, on the back and neck. The Aryans learnt this from the aboriginal races whom they conquered. Herbert Spencer gives a list of aboriginal races who paint their bodies, in his admirable book on Sociology. Is there no way for Humanity to avoid the catastrophe of a world war? to overcome the demon of colour prejudice? If the sense of Humanity is awakened to the evils that may accrue in persisting in the maintenance of colour bar, the redemption of humanity will be near at hand. All peoples may love each other without

paying any regard to the colour of his neighbour. Emerson says, "Love is the panacea of all ills, the panacea of Nature. The sentiment of love will ere long dawn on our politics, on our modes of living. Love would put a new face in this weary old world in which we dwell as pagans and enemies too long. It would warm the heart to see how fast the vain diplomacy of statesmen, the impotence of armies and navies and lines of defence would be superseded by this unarmed child. Love will creep where it cannot go, will accomplish that by imperceptible methods, being its own lever, fulcrum and power—which Force could never achieve."

CASTE

I have already shown the various evils caste wrought in India and the sooner it is given up the better. The American and the European not only imitate the Hindu in entertaining the colour prejudice but they are also making way for the entrance of caste spirit in their social organism. The *Jewish World* cites an incident which proves how England also has become a victim to the monster—caste.

While on the recruiting campaign Sergeant Issy Smith V.C. was invited to a restaurant and its owner refused to serve the Jewish hero. The insult to Sergeant Smith as a Jew could be placed comfortably with the huge pile of such insults Jews have from time to time received from the more ignorant and petty-minded of the population among whom they live. But we think it is unique to find a man holding a license daring to insult not alone the King's uniform, but the Victoria Cross which His Majesty with his own hands only a few weeks ago pinned upon the breast of one of the brave defenders of the country. The ancient caste prejudice prevalent in India appears in different forms in most of the western countries. The white races are now fully imbued with the caste spirit. Mr. Sydney Brooks says, "Time and again have I been assured by Americans, Canadians and Australians that what most impressed them in that England which

has been killed by the war was the prevalence of caste system. They were quite right. The caste system was beyond doubt the outstanding feature of the British structure. It was the caste system that made the west end of London the governing centre of the Empire. It was the caste system that in every British ministry reserved an excessive number of places for the aristocracy, whose title to them was based mainly on the non-essentials of birth, manners and social position." Regarding caste in America, *The Literary Digest* says, "For several days before the people of St. Louis voted to segregate the negroes of the city, negro girls and women handed out circulars in the streets bearing a cartoon depicting a white man driving a negro before him and lashing his bare back, with the inscription "Back to slavery." And now that the two ordinances embodying segregating have been carried by a three-to-one vote in a centrally located city of 7 lakhs of inhabitants, the *New York Evening Post* alludes ironically to "the two watchwords of Democracy—emancipation and segregation" and the *New York World* deplores the attempt "to deprive black men of property, liberty, and hope."

But the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* observes that "the separation or segregation of the races" which "prevails generally through the South" on cars, boats, and in public places, "has caused no special injury to any one," and has unquestionably tended to prevent friction between the races when travelling, which of old frequently developed into serious disturbances and what are called 'race riots.' It forbids negroes to move into blocks in which as many as 75 per cent of the occupants are white, and prohibits "the use by negroes in 'white' or 'mixed' blocks of any building or part of a building for a church, dance hall, school, theatre, or place of assemblage for negroes." The *American Journal of Sociology* says :—"The constitution of six of the American states, prohibit negro-white inter-marriages. Twenty-eight of the states have statute laws forbidding the intermarriage of negro and white persons. Twenty of the states have no such laws; in ten of these latter states bills aimed at the prevention of negro-white

intermarriages were introduced and defeated in 1913." "The Alabama constitution prohibits the legislature from passing a law legalising the intermarriage of white persons and any descendant of a negro. This means that a person whose ancestry may be traced to a negro—even though that person has no detectable physical mark of negro ancestry—may not marry a white person." "The Florida constitution prohibits intermarriage between white persons and others possessing even one-sixteenth or more negro blood. Many such persons do physically show their affinity with the negro race." "The other four states, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, by their constitutions prohibit the intermarriage of white persons and others having one-eighth or more negro blood." "Four states appear from their statutes to acknowledge that the existing laws against negro-white intermarriage do not reach all causes of negro-white amalgamation. Three of those states have, in addition to laws against intermarriage, laws against cohabitation and against concubinage." "Alabama is the only state which would seem to have attempted to reach all the causes of negro-white amalgamation. Her laws include this phrase, "If any white person or negro live in adultery or fornication with each other, each of them must, on conviction, be imprisoned." The decision with regard to Kenya highlands by the British parliament shows how rampant is the caste prejudice among Europeans and their colonists.

CIVILISATION.

The civilisation of every country is based more or less on geographical and climatic considerations than on religion. There are many religions in India but there is only one civilisation. Religion is only like the clothing to the body. The national soil is enveloped in its civili-

sation. The Indian whatever his religion retains his own natural characteristics. The national soul interprets these religions, and with freedom and knowledge makes its own choice. The Indian Christian has characteristics which are different from those of the Christians of other lands. The same is also true of the Indian Muhammadan. Some of the doctrinal and liturgical forms prevalent in these religions in the west find no place here; and some of the practices found in India have no place in the west. The *peer* worship is not found in some Muhammadan countries. All forms cannot be condemned in toto. Some of them are good and adopted by the people professing that religion. Nor do manners belonging to a particular people solely constitute civilisation. The Indian Christian is more polite than his coreligionist in England. The Indian Christian asks the welfare of his neighbour wherever he happens to meet him. But an Englishman though he travels from India to Edinburgh in the same compartment with his own brother who happens to meet him accidentally coming from a distant country thinks it beneath his dignity to enter into conversation with him. This may be an extreme case but it gives an idea of the nature of the Englishman and the civilisation he has developed. But a civilisation may be predominantly material like the modern European or predominantly mental and intellectual like the old Greek and Graeco-Roman or predominantly spiritual like the Indian civilisation. A country is made up of all manner of men be it in the East or in the West. In any country there are some types who are highly advanced and certain other types who are still in the lowest rungs of human evolution. In every country there are saints as well as sinners; martyrs as well as persecutors; gentlemen as well as thieves; patriots as well as traitors; heroes as well as

cowards; altruists as well as egoists and what not. As weeds grow among plants so abuses, due to the weakness and evil of men, crop up among noble principles which characterise civilisation. Civilisation consists in the upholding of Dharma as the individual and general good and the fostering of spiritual progress so that, with justice to all beings, the immediate and ultimate ends of humanity may be attained. Civilisation is the organisation of society, so that the individual man and his community may attain his and its immediate and final end, that is, enjoyment and liberation (*Bhukti* and *Mukti*). The general good is the object of every social organism. The community governs itself. Civilisation recognises God as its beginning and end, organises men in society through their material and mental vehicles with a view to manifest spirit in its forms as true morality and true religion. The history of civilisation is the history of cultural conflicts rather than the struggle between different political societies. The cultural struggle does more havoc than the political war. Various cultural conflicts had taken place at various times in various countries. But the conquest of culture destroys a nation completely whereas political conquest may not do so. The Byzantines, the Babylonians, the Carthaginians and the Phoenicians are found nowhere. What has become of their civilisation? But the Indian civilisation is a living and potent factor even to-day. The Indian civilisation is older than the memory of man. It has its beginnings in prehistoric times. Even to-day it remains full of life and youthful vigour. In their love of literature, art, philosophy, treatment of their women, development of aesthetic faculty, appreciation of the beauties of Nature the Indians are as much civilised as other progressive races of the world. "The Indian civilisation is unique and the contrast is not so much as between East and West as

between India and the rest of the world," says Dickinson. The Arabian civilisation made practicable the brotherhood of man. The Saracenic art, love of beauty, architecture, refined manners have enriched the Indian civilisation. Their methods of administration, their revenue system and their classification of state functions are still maintained in India even under British administration. The Muhammadan is a noble acquisition to India. His martial valour, his political genius and his capacity to master any difficult situation are requisites for the preservation of the Indian nationality. The Mussalman is a good substitute for the Kshatriya in the Hindu community who, for reasons not clearly known to us, has almost disappeared from the Hindu society. Whatever be the religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Islam, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity) prevalent in India, there is one common civilisation extending from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Indus to the Brahmaputra.

CULTURE.

' Culture,' says Sir Woodroffe, "is the expression of the soul, or a subtle body (Sukshma Sarira) a mode of the manifested self in which it is related either as religion and philosophy to the one spiritual principle of all—that aspect of culture in which it seeks to give expression to the Inner Reality, or in which it is related to Outer Phenomenon, a manifestation of the Life Principle as Knowledge; as well displayed in action and as the Beauty of all perfect natural forms." The difference between Asia and Europe in the matter of so-called exact sciences dates from about 300 years back, which is the age of experimental and inductive science. "It was during this period," says Sir Woodroffe, "that cultural superiority in this particular respect of the modern West was established; nor was that superiority

great until much later, when during the 19th century the application of steam to production and transportation effected the parting of the ways of East and West, ushering "Modernism" with its new world politics, social institutions, science and philosophy, giving Eur-America its present alleged superiority over Asia. If, however, we compare the Indian contribution to exact positive and material culture with parallel contemporary developments among the Greeks, Graeco-Roman, Saracen, Chinese and Mediaeval Europeans, the Hindus can make at least an equal, and in some respects a superior, claim to that made by these peoples in respect of scientific culture." The East as well as the West has developed art, philosophy, literature drama, religion, music, sculpture, painting, poetry, architecture and science, but there may be degrees, varieties and modifications. The tastes, faculties and interests of the human race cannot be monotonous. Variety is the spice of life. What is meat to one may be poison to the other. Each develops in his own way as natural opportunities afford him scope and leisure. There are as many varieties of minds as there are varieties of faces. The greatness of political power or the largeness of dominion does not show the cultural superiority of one people over another. Nor does political subjection mean cultural inferiority. Rome with her extensive dominion was culturally inferior to Greece. The Goths from the plains of Germany who occupied the Roman Empire were inferior to the Romans. The Arabs of the desert were inferior to the Persians and the Byzantians whom they conquered. The Huns, Sakas, Jats and Scythians were inferior to the Aryans whom they conquered in cultural powers. There are some English scholars who think that India is culturally inferior to England and the disparity between the two peoples is so great that India can never hope to cope with England. Mathew Arnold wrote

about the East in connection with the Roman Empire as follows:—

*“The East bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.”*

The East is no doubt a little patient but not disdainful of science and learning and we may also say that she is as impatient and restless as any other European country in the world in the acquisition of culture. She is not about to bow her head before the blast, and plunge in thought again; on the other hand she is but achieving things which seem impossible to the mind of the western scholars. The proudest page in the history of the world has yet been reserved for India. Another English poet, Rudyard Kipling, wrote,

*“The East is East, the West is West.
Never shall they meet but be in twain.”*

This is the statement of a man who believes that the West is superior to the East and is born in ignorance of Eastern thought and culture. The East began to develop culture starting from the internal spirit, while the West began from the external world. The culture of the East is supplementary to the culture of the West but all culture has for its object the elevation of life to noble purposes, to some higher sphere than mere gratification of animal appetite and multiplication of the species. It inspires in man a love of truth, justice and righteousness. It enables man to realise that the essential nature of man is beyond mere physical existence and animal life. Greece played her part in the development of culture by laying stress on reason and beauty. Rome developed law, order

and the art of governance. France developed science and taught liberty, equality and fraternity, thus paving the way for the realisation of democracy. Arabia created a new architecture and external forms of beauty. England developed parliamentary institutions. Germany taught socialism and India teaches communion of men with God, Yoga, the realisation of the divinity of man. Each one of them is necessary for the harmonious development of man. But the real greatness of culture lies in the spiritualisation of life and the realisation of the brotherhood of man. Every nation thinks that its own pursuits are the real culture of the world and the world is ruining itself day by day without moving on the right lines chalked out by itself. But culture is not a new idea or a philosophic concept but a living principle, a motive power, a strong stimulant to human progress. The great inventions of the West in the external world may dazzle the amateur for a time but the spiritual achievements of the East will bestow on the suffering humanity incalculable boons unthought-of by man in other countries. Culture aims at the interpretation of life and its adjustment with the world outside and the realisation of divinity in man. The art, literature, philosophy, science and religion are the manifestations of culture. The European excels in natural art and the Indian in divine ecstasy. The European cares more for utility, the Indian does everything in the name of God without caring for the fruit, with unselfish motives. If the European cares only for his culture his spirit decays and his aspirations will be confined to a greater possession of world's goods and if the Indian neglects the world he finds himself degraded for want of a proper environment to enhance the evolution of the soul. The one cares for earthly enjoyment and the other for heavenly bliss. The one counts on the income-tax he pays,

the other counts on the possession of noble qualities in him. The glory of the one is his earthly possession and the contentment of the other is that he has secured the future. The European has prompted universal education, established universal suffrage, upheld equality of rights, introduced democracy in political institutions, enhanced social happiness, whereas the Indian concentrated his mind in knowing the hidden forces working in man, the relation of man with God, the royal road to attain *nirvana*, the life after death, and the play of psychic forces on the mind of man. The European views philosophy as an intellectual exercise to argue things, whereas with the Indian it is the essence of life and thought. The European begins with the body and proceeds to think of the soul; the Indian realises the spirit within him and controls the external world in the ecstasy of Divine communion. Everywhere social ideals, political institutions, economic laws, religious sentiments, literature, art, philosophy and science are the expression of the national soul. The cultural consciousness in each nation creates the diversity in culture but there is unity underlying all this diversity. There is one culture, one civilisation, one caste, one beauty, one race, one religion, one God (*Ekameva advitiyam*)—there is only one without a second. The one culture is the realisation of the divinity of man and the establishment of the common brotherhood of man without distinction of caste, creed, race or colour. The one civilisation is the right means whereby man's mental and spiritual nature is given greater play on its increasing release from the animal cares of life. The one caste embraces the species of man. The one beauty is the prevalence of *Brahma-tejas* in man. All the beauty of colour is nothing when compared with the divine *varchas*. As the girl puts on new bloom when she attains puberty, as the boy shows signs of liveliness when he attains manhood,

as nature puts on a lively appearance when spring appears, as the house appears lively on the marriage occasion of one of its members, so the face of man puts on a divine effulgence when he realises God within. The aura of his holiness sheds a lustre on his face. The face requires no paints either red, white, yellow or black, nor does the colour of the skin, whether white, brown, yellow or black affect the beauty of his face. The eyes sparkle with lustre. The Divine Beauty is the One Beauty which man must strive to attain. The one race is the whole human race. The one Religion is the realisation of God within all. All religions are mere methods for the attainment of that high ideal. This sums up the brotherhood of man. Europe failed to realise this brotherhood because it could not base it on the divine identity of man. France proclaimed "liberty, equality, fraternity." The basis of fraternity according to French views is the fatherhood of God and the relation of men to Him as His sons and so it proclaimed fraternity basing on the love of God as Father to His children. But Italy proclaimed "Liberty, Equality, Humanity." Mazzini and Italian patriots thought that the parental relation of God and man is too feeble to ensure an everlasting brotherhood of man, and appealed to the nobler and saner sentiments in man to promote the welfare of the human races. So it based its brotherhood on humanitarian conditions. But India has its springs deeper which can ever supply the perennial flow of fraternal affection of man to man by basing it on the divine identity of man. The highest teaching of the Vedanta, the accumulated experience of the great Rishis of Aryavarta, as embodied in the teachings of the Upanishads is "Tatvamasi," "Thou art that," "Soham," (I am He); "Aham Brahmasmi," "I am the Brahman," I am the God. True culture consists in realising the divine identity of man. The scavenger and the

Chandala are as much the types of God as anybody else. If you once realise this identity every moment you are looking with contempt the Chandala, the Divinity in you becomes more and more submerged under *Ahankara*, conceit, pride and other vices. Divine bliss as well as earthly bliss are strangers to you. Can there be a degraded man? The immortal poet Shakespeare has expressed, "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a God! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!" The human soul is a precious gem, be it seated in the garb of a Chandala or of a Brahman. This is the basis of real Democracy. India proclaims "Liberty, Equality, Divinity" as the basis of her Democracy. Man must know himself in all his actions to be God and His Power, the Universal Mother. The Sruti says that the Brahman is *Satyam, Jnanam, Anandam*, i.e., Eternal, Intelligent and Happy. The *jiva* has also the same characteristics, though in a very rudimentary stage. Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, in the Sukla Yajurveda, explains beyond doubt the identity of *jivatma* with *Paramatma*. The conversation between Yajnavalkya and his dutiful second wife Maitreyi reveals that Moksha is nothing but the realisation of this identity. Brahma Jnana can be possessed by *Sravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyasa*. Vidyaranya says that these three must be practised not once or twice but till the individual soul can realise its identity with Brahman. The individual soul is often compared to the sky encased in a pot and the *Anthahkarana* to the water in it. So long as there is water in the pot the stars and other heavenly bodies are reflected in the water. Similarly in the *Anthahkarana* all the actions of the *Indriyas* are reflected. When the water in the pot is dried up the whole pot is filled with the same sky as the

one outside it. When Brahma-jnan is possessed the Anthahkarana dries away and the universal soul pervades everywhere. This is all the phenomenon of life and the individual soul is nothing but The Universal Soul. Man will find that in his self-identification in and with the world-order as the expression of a Power which is his own essential self, all vulgar hate, all merely personal desires and aversions are gone. He is God in the form of the Universe accomplishing its purpose. He who knows himself as such is the incarnate spirit of the world-order. And when and to the extent that that world-order is established men will work with and not against one another and will even sacrifice themselves for one another. Harmony will give place to discord. Love substitutes itself for hatred. Peace reigns instead of war. Progress shall be the usual order. Progress as understood in the west, is the increase of scientific knowledge, the development of industry and mechanical appliances. Moral improvement is also looked for but as the necessary condition of an orderly, peaceful and industrious world. The impulse towards progress is inherent in man. Progress is the sum total of happiness. True happiness in this world consists in the natural harmony of spirit, mind and body. True progress is the increasing manifestation of Spirit through the gradual perfecting of its vehicles, mind and body. Both of them exhibit an increasing perfection showing the true nature of the spiritual substance whence they come from. Man, through an ever-growing knowledge and morality, attains complete Humanity and therefore Divinity. Perfected man is the highest earthly form. Professor Giddings in his principles of sociology says, "Upon a review of some parts of Europe and America, it may be inferred that, in a community whose life is a tireless pursuit of materialistic ends—in which money-getting is the sum of success, there will be a sharp

separation of the successful from the unsuccessful classes and an exploitation of the poor by the rich as wanton and as merciless as that of the weak by the strong in societies of military character. The laws will favour the prosperous, the mercenary spirit will corrupt judgment and religion alike." The religious man is one who feels that he is bound in various ways to all beings. The irreligious man is he who views the whole world from his own selfish stand-point without regard for his fellows or the world at large. In the physical organism if an isolated cell sets itself up independently of the rest, disease creeps in, so in social organism if an individual sets himself up independently of the rest, society also decays. Selfishness is the root of all sin and crime. The claims of the life of the world and the life of spirit must be justly and logically balanced. There is a belief in certain sections of humanity as the Hindu Sanyasins, the Buddhistic ascetics, Christian monks, Muslim Fakirs, Mustans and dervishes that the pleasures of the world should be completely left off and they should even starve, fast and put the body to all kinds of tortures to attain moksha. The rigorous control of the body amounting to austerity which is called asceticism leads to positive self-denial and mortification of the flesh associated with the notion that the carnal and material world is evil. This is one extreme of society. Man cannot obtain Moksha by renouncing the world altogether. Want of opportunities to tempt the mind can never train it in paths of righteousness. Once a great Rishi went into the forest and was performing penance for a long number of years and was proud that nothing in the world could tempt him. On a dark night Krishna with his wife went into that forest where that Rishi dwelled, and asked him to give shelter for the night as they were hunters who missed their way

and could not find it out. The Rishi with his usual Aryan hospitality accommodated them with food and shelter. They were lying outside the hut of the Rishi. Krishna asked the Rishi to let the woman sleep inside as she had a weak heart and was afraid of wild animals and thieves. She was permitted to sleep inside and the Rishi and Sri Krishna were sleeping outside. The Rishi finding Krishna fast asleep, went inside the hut and touched the woman gently with his hand. The woman was startled by the touch, woke up and cried aloud. Then Krishna rising up with his axe threatened to kill the Rishi. The Rishi begged for life and then Krishna pardoned him and said, "There is no use of your living in forests and boasting yourself that you have conquered all carnal world. You must live in the bustle of mankind and prove that you are above all corruption!" It is the healthy growth of moral fibre in man in active life that enhances the evolution of the human soul, but not mere seclusion. Life in society and the consequent experience gained in conquering the base propensities of life go a long way in the realisation of divinity in man. The anti-social man is a curse to humanity. It is social service that equips you with the strength required to conquer all passion. As the Gita says, "Everything should be done without selfish purpose and not caring for the fruit." "A man who does good because it will be advertised, because he will profit by it, because he will get social credit or because he will go to heaven, is not superior to him who does all this detachedly for God's sake and without hope of gain for himself." This blending of worldly life free from asceticism with its underlying source is also profoundly affected in the *shakta* consciousness of the unity, of the activity of forms and of the formless peace from whose power (shakti) they issue. As the Kularnava Tantra says, yoga and worldly enjoyment are

then one (*yoga bhogayate*) and the world itself is made the seat of liberation (*Mokshayate Sangasarah*). The Hindu conception is *Sareerum adyam khalu dharma sadhanam*. It is only on the well being of the physical body that man will be able to maintain Dharma. The body is the ship to cross the ocean of life and if anything goes wrong with it you fail in your object of obtaining Moksha. "Man need not flee from the world, for therein he may, in himself, harmonize the Ultimate Reality and its Appearance. For such, one's country and one's family and the whole world are but forms of the Mother Power (Shakti) and service of them is service and worship of Her." When all is realised as supreme consciousness desire therefor is burnt out. If the brotherhood of man is based on the divine identity, the solution for its realisation becomes easy. If God has preserved a few thousand Jews for a few years to reveal the incarnation of Jesus how much greater must be the mission to be achieved by the preservation of the 300 millions of Indians as a distinct nation, through so many centuries of foreign invasion? It is to realise the brotherhood of man by his spiritual identity and to establish a real democracy not only in India but in the whole world and bringing about the parliament of man and the federation of the world; to develop an international law on sound and equitable principles, to overcome all prejudices of caste, colour and creed and to proclaim the unity of the Human Race.

James Russel Lowell sings :—

"For, mankind are one in spirit,
and an instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle,
the swift flash of right or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious,
yet Humanity's vast frame,

Through its ocean-sundered fibres
feels the gush of joy or shame;

In the gain or loss of one race
all the rest have equal claim."

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore says:—"It is for the sake of Humanity, for the sake of the full growth of our soul, that we must turn our mind towards the spiritual unity of man. We must use our social strength, not guard ourselves against the touch of others considering it as contamination, but generously to extend hospitality to the world, taking all its risks however numerous and grave. We must manfully accept the responsibility of moral freedom, which disdains to barricade itself within dead formulas of external regulation, timidly seeking its security in utter stagnation. For men who live in dread of the spirit of enquiry and lack courage to launch out in the adventure for truth, can never achieve freedom in any department of life. Freedom is not for those who are not lovers of freedom and who only allow it standing space in the porter's vestibule for the sake of some temporary purpose, while worshipping in the inner shrine of their life the spirit of blind obedience." Men must come out of their dens of sectarianism and mingle in the outside world with feelings of fraternity. Then alone can any real basis for any progress, be it political or economic, be laid in the Indian nation. When there are differences between Hindus and Muhammadans they must come forward to adjust them in as amicable a way as possible. True, in the immediate past, the consciousness of differences in the two communities was not prominent. In chapter IX, page 257, of Dr. Tayler's book, "The Topography of Dacca," he says, "Religious quarrels between the Hindus and Muhammadans are of rare occurrence. These two classes live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of the indivi-

duals belonging to them have even overcome their prejudices so far as to smoke from the same hookah." Hindus and Muslims lived as neighbours under conditions which did not tend to bring out their differences so prominently as to make them so aware of them as to quarrel with each other. But after all, the lack of consciousness, whether of differences or anything else, does not point to any superiority in their former circumstances. It only shows that something was wanting—*the vigour of life*. The love of freedom alone can unite the two peoples, compromising their differences, as both the peoples have been awakened simultaneously to a distinctive consciousness of their respective individualities. They may form an alliance for some such immediate object of mutual self-interest; but that alliance like the political alliances between countries which have traditions of antagonism is not only transitory, but is in constant danger of a violent reaction. For the alliance which depends upon some special expectation either becomes a danger at the slightest sign of disappointment or ceases to exist when the object is achieved. The most difficult problem for India is that both Hindus and Muhammadans when they reach the full consciousness of their individuality, become, in the natural course of events, as they exist to-day, mutually exclusive and antagonistic. Dr. Tagore says, "There must be something radically wrong in our mental and social life when such can be the case. It must be the result of narrowness of vision, some distrust of human nature in its universal aspect, which distracts our sympathy from the great course of its development that is to comprehend all humanity. Individuality is precious because only through it we can realise the Universal. If it were a prison house to shut us in for ever, within a strictly circumscribed range of truth, devoid of movement or growth, then our existence itself would become an insult

to us who have a living soul, just as a cage to the winged creatures. Unfortunately there are people who take enormous pride in magnifying their speciality and proclaiming to the world that they are fixed for ever on their pedestal of uniqueness. They forget that only discords are unique and therefore can claim their own separate place outside the universal world of music." In the lower orders of the two communities there is perfect harmony. Only in the wealthy and intellectual sections there is keen rivalry evinced on certain occasions. When the Mohurram and Dasara occur together they often show a sort of quarrelsomeness. It devolves upon the leaders and peoples of the two communities to make a permanent settlement of their disputes in such a way (Hindu-Muslim Pact) as they do not give scope for disputes any longer. To a large extent education may open their eyes to probe into the frivolousness of these disputes and an appreciation of each other's culture may also remedy the evil to a very large extent. The Hindus have to learn a great many social qualities from the Muhammadans and the Muslim has to give up all ideas of extra-territorialism and look upon India as his motherland and share his weal or woe with the other peoples in India. What has Turkey done in Europe to be saved? It has modernised. The Hindu as well as the Muhammadan must be modernised. Each must learn from the other the noble qualities which are their glorious inheritance. What a noble stimulant is the life of Muhammad for the building up of the Indian nation! There is much to be learnt from the teachings of Muhammad. The heroic element is predominant in the cult of Islam. Muhammad says, "The paradise is under the shadow of swords." Carlyle says, "Muhammad was great and magnificent for his indomitable faith in his cause; brave, skilful, and dauntless; clever, in making capital even out of defeat, and

quick as lightning to follow up success ; relentless where severity was profitable, but loving neither war nor slaughter for their own sake ; mild towards the vanquished, unless they had irritated him at some weak point. How much was admirable in his dealings with men ! how courteous he was to enquiries, how kind to children ! how wise with his hot-headed followers ! and informing, and everything ! There was that burning zeal for God ; which, begotten in those times of retirement at the first, never wavered much, though its quality may have deteriorated. He is a man of unique type of greatness. Had it not been so, he would not have commanded the enthusiastic devotion of that first generation of followers, well-nigh the worship of the next, and the boast of all succeeding ones. Had it not been so, the hosts of Islam would not have gone forth, loyal to the commands of their great leader, to smite and convert the world."

What a noble picture of Muhamud's character is this ! Why not every Indian realise that the basis of all religions is the same ?

*Jab nadhak chadhakhidam ka ekanur
Ekabhi, kohene sedhi o bath thur
Ishkaki bahene lagee usapur naseem
Mouza avval hyvokee thurreya theem.*

In the beginning before creation there was only One. That is the Ancient Light. It is impossible to describe it. There was a gentle breeze of love on that ocean of Light and that lustre of peace. As love dawned a light wave of enthusiasm rose. That wave, that everlasting ocean of love is that sacred person Muhammad, the orphan boy. The Veda also says, "*Asade Vedam puraseeth.*" "*Sadeva somye thanugra auseet (Vignamandudam)*

Brahma," "*Mayautu prakrutim vidyanmayi nartu maheswaram*." Muhammad in his teachings and practical life is more Adwaitic than Sankara. In Islam also the four paths enumerated are present (1) Shariat (Karma) (2) Tarikhath (yoga), (3) Halikhath (Bhakti), (4) Marikhath (Jnana). Muhammad says, "*Assalate' merajuth mominin*" 'All my Bhaktas see God in *namaj* (Samadhi) and meet Him.'

"Mun araphanagh, sahu, phakathara, pharabbahu."
"You are God. To know yourself is to know God."

"Atmanum chedvijaneeyath ayamasmeeiti poorusha,"
"Ayamatma Brahma," says the Veda.

Muhammad says, "Alakulla shayyum mohed,"—
Every atom is full of God.

The Veda says, "Survam khalvidam Brahma,"
"Tathsrushtwathu devanu pravivisath, anchajive natma nanu pravisya."

"Muhammad says, "Khulu bub, mominin, Arsha-
allahutala."—The heart of a bhaktha is the dwelling place
of God.

"Kshetragnam chapi mamviddhi surva kshetreshu
Bharata," says the Bhagavatgita. "Dehee devalayaha
prokta Jeevo devasanathanah."

Muhammad says, "Nohano akharaboyi lehemim
habaliv vareed." God is nearer to you than your alimentary
canal, (*i.e.*) there is no difference between you and God.

The Veda says, "Annum Brahmethi vyajanath."

The Veda also says, "Savayasha purushonuarsamaya."

Muhammad says, "Ennamum nurullathul khalakhekul hummam nuree"—There is no difference between myself and God. I am his spirit. It is from my spirit that the whole universe of five elements is emanating.

The Veda says, "Tameva bhanta manu bhati sarvum, thasyabhasa sarva midam vibhati. Mayyeva sakalam jatam mayi sarvum prathishtitam."

Muhammad says, "AUL Raya therabbi herabbi," "I am God and see God."

The Veda says, "Vedanta vignana sunischi thartha ssanyasa yoga dwitaya ssuththa sathvaha, the brahmaloketu paranthakale paramruta thparimuchyanti surve, Brahmanam sahathe sarve samprapthe pratisancharan."

The identification of Islam with pure Hinduism is not a difficult task and there are very many instances of comparison which I leave to the reader of comparative religions. Muhammad is identified with God. "Eku modlik though chedu, Alla Muhammaduku nahiblad." As there is a hole on each side of a pearl and they appear as two holes, though there is one, so Muhammad and God are one and the same. The conversation of Muhammad with Gabriel is instructive on the point. Muhammad said, "O Gabriel, who do you think me to be?" Gabriel said "I am taking you for Muhammad. Muhammad said, "How else are you looking on me?" Gabriel said, "I take you for an Arabian." Muhammad said, "All right, look on me with the eyes you look on Al'ah? Gabriel said, "I find you as God." Muhammad said, "Where do you see my dwelling place?" Gabriel said, "I see you as an Arab with "A" dropped i.e., Rab i.e., God." Muhammad said, "Then go away!"

The conversation of Muhammad with his daughter Fatima is as follows:—Muhammad addressed his daughter “O child, why do you look so bewildered?”

Fatima did not reply.

Muhammad said, “O mother! What are you looking at?”

Fatima said, “I am looking at a very bright light spreading between heaven and earth.”

Muhammad said, “Whom do you see there?”

Fatima said, “You!”

Muhammad said, “That means?”

Fatima said, “I see you as the embodiment of the all-pervading God.”

Muhammad said “Be it so. Every Mussalman in my Islam can become one like me.”

Muhammad said “Hama Useeth,” “Anulpuk.” It means the same as “Tatvamasi” and “Aham Brahmasmi.” There are very many such Adwaitic principles throughout the Qur'an and the life of Muhammad. No religion preaches more Adwaitism than Islam. Adwaita is preached in Kalama and Namaz. Krishna, Buddha, Christ and Muhammad are all divine and the same divine element is within every man, but, with this difference that it is submerged under egotism in common men and it is all-pervading in them. There is universalism and altruism in them, there is bigotry, sectarianism and egotism in common men. Rise above these narrow precincts of life and feel the divine in you. Become one with Brahman. When you will be

able to realise the Brahman in you, you will realise the universal brotherhood of man. This realisation is the foundation for a true democracy. All material forms and institutions help only when there is that life divine within us. If life is wanting, any number of medicines cannot bring back life into the body and all external clothing is but a shroud and humanity lies buried in bloodshed and egotism will hold infernal sway on the mind of man. Every Indian is to realise this great truth, this life divine, before he can think of an Indian nation and an Indian Democracy. Be prepared to receive this light, this wisdom, this gospel, this doctrine and this truth into the inner apartments of your heart, cherish it with all the force you can command, act up to it with all the force you can command, act up to it without any violation in every one of your national activities and build up the grand national edifice of Indian Democracy. Therein lies your glory, the vindication of your national honour, the regeneration of your country, the mission of your life and the purpose for which the India nation is preserved through all the turmoil of conquest and subjection. Do not think that this principle belongs to a particular religion. It is the basis of all religions. Mr. Lecky observes, "An impartial examination of great transitions of opinion will show that they have usually been affected not by the force of direct arguments, not by such reasons as those which are alleged by controversialists and recorded in creeds, but by a sense of the incongruity or discordance of the old doctrines with other parts of our knowledge." The present situation requires that every Indian should feel the incongruity of his old religious superstitions and dogmas as compared and contrasted with the modern environment and he must be prepared to discard all of them and rise to the occasion by setting his house in a proper order to meet all the

exigencies which may occur in the course of the struggle for liberty. How many of us are prepared to undergo any suffering and try to elevate the condition of our fellow-men? Christ says, "The birds have their free nests and foxes have their free burrows and where is the place to shelter the head of a poor and destitute man?" How many of our countrymen are starving and how many more are homeless! If the human mind cannot find a solution to extricate the homeless from their sufferings and difficulties and organise society for making the lives of all happy, what avails the boast of our culture and civilisations? Where is the superiority of man in the Divine creation if the lot of a human being is more miserable than that of the beast and the bird?

Christ was not born as a Roman consul or dictator, nor did he come to this earth to enjoy the luxuries of the world. He was born as the son of a poor carpenter. In his exemplary life which is an ideal to all humanity he relieved the poor of their misery. He often stated, "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." He further stated, "All ye are brethren, one is your Father which is in Heaven" (St. Mathew's Gospel). He preached the truth in its most universal form and the whole of His life was devoted to the preaching of that ultimate truth about man and God. In his exposition of the truth he came into conflict with the Pharisees who were racially exclusive of every other people. The Pharisees at that time were determined to keep their own race segregated and separated from every other race in the world and Christ in breaking down that barrier of race was crucified. St. Paul was a Pharisee of the Pharisees. He was racially exclusive, more than the rest of his fellow Pharisees. He had upheld racial exclusiveness to the

utmost and he had persecuted to death any one who adopted the teachings of Christ. Stephen who preached the new doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God was stoned to death by St. Paul's own consent. One day, Paul was on his way to Damascus to drag to prison and persecute and kill those who wished to declare the truth of the brotherhood, when he saw a vision of Christ, which said, "Soul, soul! why dost thou persecute me?" Paul was thunderstruck and he was changed in heart and became a Christian. He was thoroughly changed in heart when he exclaimed, "I counted all this racial pride as dung, as refuse, that I might win Christ. It was filth. In order that I might win Christ I threw it away."

Towards the end of his life, when he was in a Roman prison, because of this very faith of brotherhood of man, because he would not be racially exclusive, he wrote these words in prison, "In Christ; there cannot be either Jew or Greek, Scythian or barbarian, bond or free, but all are one Man in Christ Jesus." The early church has no distinctions whatever. All races sat together and in the midst of the worship they ate the one head and drank the one cup and at the end of the service, in the ceremony of "Kissing of the Peace," people would turn to one another, bow and embrace one another in Christian fellowship. In Heaven there are no race distinctions, on earth there should be no race distinctions here. That is the Christian faith and St. Paul died for it, Christ died for it and thousands died for it.

Muhammad was not born as the king of Arabia but as the son of a poor caravansary. There are great men among the poor and destitute and humanity will be impoverished if there is no scope for such men to rise to the full height of their manhood.

Emerson writes in his essay on the Conservative: 'The Youth is an innovator by the fact of his birth. There he stands newly born on the planet, a universal beggar, with all the reason of things, one would say, on his side. In his first consideration how to feed, clothe and warm himself, he is met by warnings on every hand that this thing and that thing have owners and he must go elsewhere. Then he says, "if I am born on the earth where is my part? Have the goodness, gentlemen of this world, to show me my wood-lot, where I may fell my wood, my field where I may plant my corn, my pleasant ground where I may build my cabin."

"Touch any wood, or field, or house lot on your peril," cry all the gentlemen of this world; "but you may come and work in ours for us and we will give you a piece of bread. And what is that peril? Knives and muskets, if we meet you in the act; imprisonment, if we find you afterward."

"And by what authority, kind gentlemen?"

"By our law!"

"And your law—is it just?"

"As just for you as it was for us. We wrought for others under this law, and got our lands so."

"I repeat the question, Is your law just?"

"Not quite just, but necessary. Moreover it is juster now than it was when we were born; we have made it milder and more equal."

"I will have none of your law," returns the youth; "it encumbers me. I cannot understand, or so much as

spare time to read that needless library of your law. Nature has sufficiently provided me with rewards and sharp penalties to bind me, not to transgress. Like the Persian noble of old, I ask "that I may neither command nor obey." I do not wish to enter into your complex social system. I shall serve those whom I can, and they who can, will serve me. I shall seek those whom I love, and shun those I love not; and what more can all your laws render me?" With equal earnestness and good faith, replies the plaintiff, an upholder of the establishment, and a man of many virtues:

"Your opposition is feather-brained and over-fine. Young man, I have no skill to talk with you, but look at me; I have risen early and sat late, and toiled honestly and painfully for very many years. I never dreamed about methods; I laid my bones to, and drudged for the goods I possess; it was not got by fraud, not by luck, but by work, and you must show me a warrant like these stubborn facts in your own fidelity and labour, before I suffer you, on the faith of a few fine words, to ride into my estate, and claim to scatter it as your own."

"Now you touch the heart of the matter," replies the reformer. "To that fidelity and labour I pay homage. I am unworthy to arraign your manner of living, until I too have been tried. But I should be more unworthy, if I did not tell you why I cannot walk in your steps. I find this vast network, which you call property, extended over the whole planet. I cannot occupy the bleakest crag of the White Hills or the Alleghany Range, but some man or corporation sets up to me to show me that it is his. Now, though I am very peaceable, and on my private account could well enough die, since it appears there was some mistake

in my creation, and that I have been mis-sent to this earth, where all the seats were already taken—yet I feel called upon on behalf of rational nature, which I represent, to declare to you my opinion, that if the Earth is yours so also it is mine. All your aggregate existences are less to me a fact than is my own ; as I am born to the earth, so the earth is given to me, what I want of it to till and to plant ; nor could I without pusillanimity, omit to claim so much. I must not only have a name to live, but *I* must live. My genius leads me to a different manner of life from any of yours. I cannot then spare you the whole world. I love you the better. I must tell you the truth practically ; and take that which you call yours. It is God's world and mine ; yours as much as you want, mine as much as I want. Besides, I know your ways ; I know the symptoms of the disease. To the end of your power, you will serve this lie which cheats you. Your want is a gulf which the possession of the broad earth would not fill. Yonder sun in heaven you would pluck down from shining on the universe, and make him a property and privacy, if you could ; and the moon and the north star you would quickly have occasion for in your closet and bed chamber. What you do not want for use, you crave for ornament, and what your convenience could spare, your pride cannot."

The exclusive privilege of only some to enjoy the divine gifts is an anomaly in the present order of things. If all the air on earth is bottled and made the exclusive property of a blessed few how absurd the state of things will be ! So also if the wealth is made to accumulate exclusively in the hands of a few. If all the fresh water on earth is made to collect in a few reservoirs and made the exclusive property of a blessed few how absurd it will be ! So also if the products of the earth are made to con-

glomerate exclusively in the granaries of a few. These old systems and organisations must die away or else there is no hope for the redemption of humanity. To-day we are immersed deep in this order, tomorrow we may have to face a new order of things. Tremendous movements are now taking place in a day while the same events could not have been accomplished in centuries. A new world is in the making. Nothing which exists to-day can be surely said that it will survive tomorrow. Nothing is substantial. What we call modern civilisation may be swept away in a moment. We may expect anything and be certain of nothing. Some think that this is an era of preparation for a world war resulting in cataclysm far surpassing all wars which have ever been known before. Some others say that all wars have ended and a permanent peace shall reign. Some hope for the era of Internationalism, a disbanding of armies and dismantling of navies. There are others who believe like Mahatma Gandhi that "Love alone is the panacea of all evils." Bryan also says, "The nations will place their trust in love, the weapon for which there is no shield; in love, that suffereth long and is kind; in love, that is not easily provoked, that beareth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things; in love, which, though despised as weakness by the worshippers of Mars, abideth when all else fails." Some others look for the federation of the world and the parliament of man. The unceasing connection which is stirring the world is only the climax of the ceaseless din of war, tumult and strife, out of which from the prehistoric times nations have risen and died. Through all time ship after ship of state has gone forth, freighted with human hopes, only to be shattered in the end. Men have desired peace and prosperity. Their hopes have not been fulfilled. Human projects have failed, human hopes die.

appointed, human promises unfulfilled. All that wisdom, genius, education, civilisation and philanthropy have accomplished still leaves the whole heart sick. Nowhere man has been able to find relief in spite of the innumerable remedies suggested. Yet man hopes and hopes for a new age.

Shelley sings,

*"The world's great age begins anew
The golden years return;
The earth doth like a snake renew
Her winter weeds out-worn;
Heaven smiles; and faiths and Empires gleam
Like wrecks of a disclosing dream."*

Are we to continue in this ceaseless course of human failure and suffering? Is the din of war and strife perpetual? Will there be no end to all this? What is the destiny of the world and of the human race? The Bible says, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye children of Israel: for the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land, because there is no truth, no mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land. By swearing and lying, and killing and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood." —Hos. 4:1 and 2.

As a result of sin men were in darkness not because it was necessary but because they have chosen to do so. Light has come into the world, but men loved darkness rather than light. Most men have advanced not towards God but towards sin. They have progressed not in righteousness but in vice. They have learnt not divine wisdom but conceit.

Not only individuals but also nations have moved far away from virtue. As a result of sin, there is "distress

of nations, with perplexity ; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth."—Luke 21, 25, 26. It is love of God, love of man, truth, justice, righteousness and courage that can save Humanity. Realise the God within you, and proclaim the brotherhood of man, if you really believe that you are that Brahman and realise. " Weapons cleave Him not, nor fire burneth Him, nor waters wet Him, nor wind drieth Him away.—2--23. Uncleavable He, incombustible He, and indeed neither to be wetted nor dried away ; perpetual, all-pervading, stable, immovable, ancient.—2-24 Unmanifest, unthinkable, immutable, He is called ; therefore knowing Him as such, thou shouldst not grieve. 2-25. Bhagavatgita (Sankhya yoga) Second discourse." If any one believes this great truth, where is the fear of death for him. All bodies are but like clothing which can be doffed at any moment and the soul is the undying and everlasting reality. All suffering is in mind. If your soul is immersed in God and if it has no other ideal than having complete peace in divine ecstasy all human sufferings vanish into nothing. Suffering and anxiety are the lot of all sinners. The divine man is always in divine ecstasy. Him, pain and trouble affecteth not. He is Satchidananda—He is all peace, all joy and all love. He sees everywhere virtue. He will be in the supra-consciousness of the divine identity. He sees a heaven on earth. He lives in the region of terrestrial gods. He lives in the land where true democracy is possible and in fact exists.

Ex-president Wilson writes in the Atlantic monthly under the heading "The Road away from Revolution."—

"In these doubtful anxious days, when all the world is at unrest and, look which way you will, the road

ahead seems darkened by shadows which portend dangers of many kinds, it is only common prudence that we should look about us and attempt to assess the causes of distress and the most likely means of removing them. The real ground for universal unrest lies deep at the sources of spiritual life of our time and leads to revolution. The cause of the Russian Revolution, the outstanding event of its kind in our age, is a systematic denial to the great body of the Russians of the rights and privileges which all normally desire, and must have, if they are to be contented and within reach of happiness. It is against capitalism that the Russian leaders deviated their attack....and it is against capitalism, under one name or another, that the discontented classes everywhere draw their indictment. Is the capitalist system unimpeachable? Is it not true that capitalists often seem to regard men whom they used as mere instruments of profit, whose physical and mental powers it was legitimate to exploit? Ought we not to seek a way to remove such offences and make life itself clean for those who will share honourably and cleanly in it? The world has been made safe for Democracy. There is no need now to fear that any such made design as that entertained by that insolent and ignorant Hohenzollerns and their counsellors may prevail against it, but democracy has not yet made the world safe against irrational revolution. That supreme task which is nothing less than the salvation of civilisation now faces democracy, insistent and imperative. There is no escaping it unless everything we have built up is presently to fall in ruin about us, and the United States as the greatest of the democracies must undertake it. The road that leads away from revolution is clearly marked, for it is defined by the nature of men and of organised society. It, therefore, behoves us to study very carefully

and very candidly the exact nature of the task and the means of its accomplishment. The sum of the whole matter is this, that our civilisation cannot survive materially unless it be redeemed spiritually. Here is the final challenge to our churches, to our political organisations and to our capitalists to every one who fears God or loves his country."

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

Education promotes good feeling among men. It smoothenes the crudities of man. Universal Education enhances the good understanding of the various peoples and races on earth. His excellency Sir George Lloyd in his convocation address at Bombay in 1923 on 21st August said :

"In India the first and essential need appears to be that of unity. India as a whole has arrived at an advanced stage of its evolution but further progress is now being retarded by dissensions which prevent the formation of a united front. These dissensions are fatal to the emergence of the Indian nation and they are caused by the suspicion and mistrust which the uneducated members of one religious community or social caste feel for those of another. Can that suspicion and mistrust be eradicated until the mass of the people are sufficiently educated to form for themselves right and independent judgments and to recognise where their true interests lie? I think not; and I am strongly convinced that to educate the masses of the people up to that point is India's first and vital need to-day and the second need and one in my judgment equally vital arises out of the fact that India has been very definitely committed in the last few years to a democratic form of government and to that and it is necessary that the electorate, a large body of

people, should be sufficiently educated to understand that they and they alone are responsible for the selection of the personnel and policy of the government on the transferred side. If the voting portion of the population are incapable of understanding the fundamental principles of genuine democracy, or if in understanding it, they are incapable, by reason of the lack of education, of distinguishing the true metal from the false and so remain at the mercy of sentiment and superstition, then no real progress on democratic lines is possible. So long as this does not take place, so long as causes of internal dissension remain in India, national unity will be delayed and little progress will be possible towards democratisation of the whole fabric of government." It is also to be borne in mind that no nation on earth will be willing to part with all its privileges on the mere asking for freedom. Growth must begin from within. Society is a peculiar organism. Every society can grow only when the internal forces are healthy and vigorous. In the epilogue to "Honest Man's Fortune" Beaumont and Fletcher sing,

*"Man is his own star; and the soul that can
Render an honest and a perfect man
Commands all light, all influence, all fate.
Nothing to him falls early or too late;
Our acts our angels are, or good or ill
Our fatal shadows that walk by us still."*

Every one is the maker of his national destiny. Rich and poor, high and low, one and all are responsible for India's glory.

Emerson in his essay on History sings,

*"There is no great and no small
To the soul that maketh all;
And where it cometh all things are;
And it cometh everywhere.
I am owner of the sphere."*

*Of the seven stars and the solar year,
Of caesar's hand and plato's brain
Of Lord Christ's heart, and shakespeare's strain."*

He further writes, "There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same. He that is once admitted to the right of reason is made a freeman of the whole estate. What plato has thought, he may think; what a saint has felt he may feel; what at any time hath befallen any man, he can understand. Who hath access to this universal mind, is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent." The time has come when all men should realise a unity in all diversity, when the quality of all men based on spiritual identity should be the order of the day and the government founded on force must give way for one of love. Emerson says, "We live in a very low state of the world, and pay un-willing tribute to governments founded on force. There is not, among the most religious and instructed men of the most religious and civil nations, a reliance on the moral sentiment, and a sufficient belief in the unity of things to persuade them that society can be maintained without artificial restraints, as well as the solar system; or that the private citizen might be reasonable, and a good neighbour, without the hint of a jail or a confiscation. What is strange, too, there never was in any man sufficient faith in the power of rectitude, to inspire him with the broad design of renovating the state on the principle of right and love." He further says, "The criticism and attack on institutions we have witnessed, has made one thing plain, that society gains nothing whilst a man, not himself renovated, attempts to renovate things around him; he has become tediously good in some particular, but negligent or narrow in the rest, and hypocrisy and vanity are often the disgusting result. It is handsomer to remain in the establishment better than the establishment, and conduct that in the best manner, than to make a sally against evil by some single improvement, without supporting it by a total regeneration. Do not be so vain

of your one objection. Do you think there is only one? Alas! my good friend, there is no part of society or life better than any other part. All our things are right and wrong together. The wave of evil washes all our institutions alike. Do you complain of our marriage? Our marriage is no worse than our education, our diet, our trade, our social customs. Do you complain of the laws of property? It is a pedantry to give such importance to them. Can we not play the game of life with these counters, as well as with those; in the institution of property, as well as out of it? Let into it the new and renewing principle of love, and property will be universality." Love conquereth all. Love God. Love man, thy fellow-brother in weal and woe on this planet. Propagate democratic ideas. When the question of brotherhood is solved democracy will follow as the dawn follows the sun. As the Sun of Love advances, the mists of discord, war, strife and dis-union will vanish away. Humanity will all the more be nobler, happier, purer and sublimer approaching the God-Head.

*"Then let us pray that come it may—
As come it will for a' that—
That sense and worth o'er a' the earth
May bear the gree and a' that
For a' that and a' that,
It is coming yet for a' that
That man to man the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that."*

Man, clothed with brief little authority and entangled in the web of luxury may, in the glamour of his power and wealth, fail to notice the currents of modern life but let him pause and think, then he cannot but find that the direction of the divine mission and the drift of nature is towards Democracy, Liberty, Equality and the Spiritual Identity, i.e., Divinity of Man.